

“Samuel Pepys, the Restoration Public and the Politics of Publicity”

David Charles Magliocco

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School of History, Queen Mary University of London

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Abstract

This thesis is situated in three fields of academic research. The first is the on-going reconceptualization of early modern political history conducted under the title of 'post-revisionism'. Within this field of research, Jurgen Habermas's notion of an emergent public sphere has proven a key, if contested, heuristic in the production of a more expansive and inclusive political field. The next field is Restoration studies. Whilst this period has enjoyed a much-heralded renaissance of interest in the past quarter century, this has largely bypassed its opening decade, the focus of this study. Finally, this thesis is an intervention in the field of Pepys studies: an extensive corpus of work spanning the academic-popular divide, and extending across traditional disciplinary boundaries. Despite this continued interest in Pepys, there has been no recent study focusing on his participation in the public sphere identified by recent research. This thesis then brings these fields of inquiry together in an attempt to raise questions about all three. In particular it examines questions of space and practice, agency and publicity, and identity and identification. Whilst this study confirms the post-revisionist notion of an expansive field of political discourse, it emphasizes different features of this space than those that have dominated recent research. First it suggests the need for a reconfiguration of public space, alternative modes of publicity and a more hierarchical understanding of interactions within it. Next, in the place of an inclusive and anonymous public, it emphasizes the exclusionary and disciplinary nature of the public and operation of the public sphere. Finally it emphasizes Pepys' position as not merely spectator of, or participant in this public space/public, but also, increasingly, as its object or effect.

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Abbreviations

BL	British Library
Bodl.	Bodleian Library
Bryant, <i>Letters</i>	<i>The letters, speeches and declarations of King Charles II</i> , A. Bryant (ed.) (London, 1968)
Bryant, <i>Pepys</i>	A. Bryant, <i>Samuel Pepys: The Man in the Making, 1633-1669</i> (London, 1967)
Burke, <i>Fabrication</i>	P. Burke, <i>The Fabrication of Louis XIV</i> (New Haven, 1992)
Calabi & Christensen, <i>Cities</i>	D. Calabi & S. Christensen (ed.), <i>Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400 – 1700</i> (Cambridge, 2007)
Calhoun, <i>Habermas</i>	C. Calhoun (ed.), <i>Habermas and the public sphere</i> (Cambridge, Mass., 1992)
Cogswell <i>et al</i>	T. Cogswell, R. Cust & P. Lake (ed.), <i>Politics, Religion and Popularity in Early Stuart Britain</i> (Cambridge, 2002)
Cowan, <i>SLC</i>	B. Cowan, <i>The Social Life of Coffee: the Emergence of the British Coffeehouse</i> (New Haven, 2005)
CSPD	<i>Calendar of state papers, domestic</i>
CSPV	<i>Calendar of state papers, Venetian</i>
Cust & Hughes, <i>Conflict</i>	R. Cust & A. Hughes (ed.), <i>Conflict in Early Stuart England</i> (London, 1989)
Greenblatt, <i>RSF</i>	S. Greenblatt, <i>Renaissance Self-Fashioning: from More to Shakespeare</i> (Chicago, 2005; 1 st edition, 1980)
Habermas, <i>STPS</i>	J. Habermas, (trans. T. Burger), <i>The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society</i> (Cambridge, Mass., 1989)
Harris, <i>London Crowds</i>	T. Harris, <i>London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II: propaganda and politics from the Restoration until the exclusion crisis</i> (Cambridge, 1987)
HMC	The Historical Manuscripts Commission
HoP	B. Henning, <i>The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1660-1690</i> (London, 1983), 3 volumes
Hume & Love, <i>Buckingham</i>	R. Hume & H. Love, <i>Plays, Poems, and Miscellaneous Writings associated with George Villiers Second Duke of Buckingham</i> (Oxford, 2007), 2 volumes

Hutton, <i>Restoration</i>	R. Hutton, <i>Charles the Second, King of England, Scotland and Ireland</i> , (Oxford, 1989)
Hyde, <i>The Life</i>	Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, <i>The Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor of England & Chancellor of the University of Oxford: In which is included A Continuation of his History of the Grand Rebellion</i> (Oxford, 1827), 3 volumes
Knights, <i>Politics and Opinion</i>	M. Knights, <i>Politics and Opinion in Crisis, 1678-1681</i> (Cambridge, 1994)
Knights, <i>Representation</i>	M. Knights, <i>Representation & Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain: Partisanship & Political Culture</i> (Oxford, 2005)
Lake, "Anti-popery"	P. Lake, "Anti-popery: the Structure of a Prejudice" in R. Cust & A. Hughes (ed.), <i>Conflict in Early Stuart England</i> (London, 1989)
Lake & Pincus, "Rethinking"	P. Lake & S. Pincus, "Rethinking the Public Sphere in Early Modern England", <i>Journal of British Studies</i> , 45:2 (Apr., 2006), pp.270-292
Lake & Pincus, <i>PPS</i>	P. Lake & S. Pincus (ed.), <i>The politics of the public sphere in early modern Britain</i> , (Manchester, 2007)
Lake & Questier, "Agency, Appropriation and Rhetoric"	P. Lake & M. Questier, "Agency, Appropriation and Rhetoric under the Gallows: Puritans, Romanists and the State in Early Modern England", <i>Past & Present</i> , 153 (Nov., 1996), pp.64-107
Latham, <i>Catalogue</i>	<i>Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College Cambridge</i> , Volume I: Printed Books, R. Latham (ed.), (Woodbridge, 1978)
Locke, <i>Letters</i>	<i>The Correspondence of John Locke</i> , E. De Beer (ed.) (Oxford, 1976), Volume i
Love, <i>Scribal Publication</i>	H. Love, <i>The Culture and Commerce of Texts: Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England</i> (Amherst, 1993)
Marvell, <i>P&L</i>	<i>The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell</i> , H. Margoliouth (ed.), (Oxford, 1967), 2 volumes
Miller, <i>Charles II</i>	J. Miller, <i>Charles II</i> (London, 1991)
Miller, <i>Popery</i>	J. Miller, <i>Popery and Politics in England, 1660 – 1688</i> (Cambridge, 1973)

ODNB	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , edited by H. Matthew and B. Harrison (ed.) (Oxford, 2004), 61 volumes
Pepys	<i>The Diary of Samuel Pepys</i> , R. Latham & W. Matthews (ed.) (London, 1970 – 1983), 11 volumes
Pincus, “Coffee”	S. Pincus, “‘Coffee Politicians does create’: Coffeehouses and Restoration Political Culture”, <i>The Journal of Modern History</i> , 67:4 (1995), pp.807-34
Pincus, <i>FMR</i>	S. Pincus, <i>1688: The First Modern Revolution</i> (New Haven, 2009)
Pincus, <i>P&P</i>	S. Pincus, <i>Protestantism and Patriotism: Ideologies and the Making of English Foreign Policy, 1650 – 1668</i> (Cambridge, 1996)
PL	Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge
Robbins, <i>Milward</i>	<i>The Diary of John Milward, Esq., Member of Parliament for Derbyshire, September, 1666 to May, 1668</i> , C. Robbins (ed.), (Cambridge, 1938)
Scott, <i>England’s Troubles</i>	J. Scott, <i>England’s Troubles: Seventeenth-Century English Political Instability in European Context</i> (Cambridge, 2000)
Seaward, <i>Cavalier Parliament</i>	P. Seaward, <i>The Cavalier Parliament and the Reconstruction of the Old Regime, 1661 – 1667</i> (Cambridge, 1988)
Shagan, <i>Catholics</i>	E. Shagan (ed.), <i>Catholics and the ‘Protestant nation’</i> (Manchester, 2005)
Shagan, <i>Moderation</i>	E. Shagan, <i>The Rule of Moderation: Violence, Religion and the Politics of Restraint in Early Modern England</i> (Cambridge, 2011)
Sharpe, <i>Rebranding Rule</i>	K. Sharpe, <i>Rebranding Rule: The Restoration and Revolution Monarchy, 1660-1714</i> (New Haven, 2013)
Tomalin, <i>Pepys</i>	C. Tomalin, <i>Samuel Pepys: The Unequalled Self</i> (London, 2002)

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Introduction

'Blessed be God, at the end of the last year I was in very good health, without any sense of my old pain but upon taking of cold./I lived in Axe-yard, having my wife and servant Jane, and no more in family then us three./My wife, after the absence of her terms for seven weeks, gave me hopes of her being with child, but on the last day of the year she hath them again. The condition of the State was thus. Viz. the Rump, after being disturbed by my Lord Lambert, was lately returned to sit again. The officers of the army all forced to yield. Lawson lie[s] still in the River and Monke is with his army In Scotland. Only my Lord Lambert is yet not yet come in to the Parliament'.¹ 'My own private condition very handsome; and esteemed rich, but ended very poor besides my goods of my house and my office, which at present is somewhat uncertain'.² So, on an optimistic note, begin the journals kept by Samuel Pepys for almost the entirety of the 1660s. With their fascination with politics, their obsession with social status, and their clear separation of the 'private' and the 'public' realms (albeit often subjected, as above, to abrupt transitions), these paratextual remarks orient both reader and subject in the turbulent present of 1660, whilst signposting the form and content of this remarkable text. Neither Samuel Pepys the historical figure, nor the text commonly known as 'the Diary' – the principal source for this study – should require much in the way of introduction.³ (Pepys in fact referred to this manuscript as his 'journall'; a convention dutifully followed here). Running to 1,250,000 words over 3,100 pages, and accounting for almost ten years of lived experience it surely qualifies as that most elusive of texts: 'the thick description'.⁴ It is undoubtedly amongst the most important and best-loved of English-language historical sources, as well as, at least since the publication of the Latham and Matthews edition, one of the most accessible.⁵ Hence for C. S. Knighton Pepys' text is, 'a historical document of the first rank, and a literary classic'; similarly, Jason Scott-Warren has lauded the, 'richness of a journal that (like Hamlet) has come to stand as one of the great harbingers of modernity'; whilst for Adam Smyth, the journal is quite simply, 'the most famous diary of all'.⁶ This thesis uses this familiar source to intervene in

¹ "1659/60", Pepys, i, p.1.

² "1659/60", Pepys, i, p.2.

³ Although for introductions see biographies by Bryant, *Pepys*, R. Ollard, *Pepys: A Biography*, (London, 1999; 1st edition, 1974), Tomalin, *Pepys*; also, R. Latham, "The Diarist", Pepys, i, pp.xvii-xl; C. S. Knighton, "Pepys, Samuel (1633–1703)", *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21906>, accessed 18 Sept 2013].

⁴ The term is, of course, from Geertz, see C. Geertz, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretative Theory of Culture", in C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York, 1973), pp.3-30; figures from Pepys, i, p.xli.

⁵ *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, R. Latham & W. Matthews, (ed.), 11 vols., (London, 1970-83); hereafter, in respect to its status, simply, 'Pepys'.

⁶ C. S. Knighton, "Pepys, Samuel", *ODNB*; J. Scott-Warren, *Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge, 2005), p.245; A. Smyth, *Autobiography in early modern England* (Cambridge, 2010), p.210.

live historiographical debates, but in doing so, it also attempts to say something new about Pepys; as actor, author and literary creation.

In the remainder of these introductory comments I want to accomplish two things: firstly, to survey the historiographical field that this work is situated in; and then to outline the nature of my intervention within that field.⁷ Turning to the first of these tasks, whilst I say ‘field’ in the singular, I intend to discuss three overlapping bodies of scholarship, presented here in diminishing order of historical scope. The first, and certainly the most vibrant of these, is ‘post-revisionism’.⁸ This term identifies a historiographical approach applied to the political history of ‘the long 17th century’ - a historical unit of analysis of running from around 1560 to about 1720 (but more on this chronological reach later). In order to understand post-revisionism (hereafter un-apostrophized) it is necessary, like Tristram Shandy, to first take a step back, and to situate it in relation to its antecedent, ‘revisionism’.⁹ Revisionism (now also un-apostrophized) emerged in the 1970s to challenge the then-dominant Whig and social history paradigms. Revisionism has subsequently been much-discussed and forensically-dissected, by friend and foe alike, but, for the purposes of this thesis, it made a number of critical interventions within the field of early modern historiography.¹⁰ As has been observed, the resulting position could be summarized by a series of theses-antitheses with its precursors; socio-economic determinism/radical indeterminacy, manuscript/print, conflict/consensus and long-term, structural causes/short-term conjunctures.¹¹ For all the sound and fury initially generated by this development, by the early 1980s revisionism represented something of new orthodoxy: a triumph trumpeted in 1986 (somewhat inopportunistly it would transpire) by

⁷ An earlier version of this chapter was read at “PRI Britannique”, L’École des hautes études en sciences sociales and The School of History, Queen Mary University of London, Les journées doctorales, Paris, 6th – 7th June 2013. I am grateful to those present for their generous comments, especially Professor Steve Pincus and Dr James Ellison.

⁸ The development of this approach can be tracked in R. Cust & A. Hughes, “Introduction: after Revisionism” in Cust & Hughes, *Conflict*, P. Lake, “Retrospective: Wentworth’s political world in revisionist and post-revisionist perspective” in J. Merritt (ed), *The political world of Thomas Wentworth Earl of Strafford, 1621-1641* (Cambridge, 1996), T. Cogswell, R. Cust & P. Lake, “Revisionism and its legacies” in Cogswell *et al*, and P. Lake & S. Pincus, “Rethinking”.

⁹ Revisionism, of course, had its own intellectual antecedents. For further discussion see C. Russell (ed.) *The Origins of the English Civil War* (London, 1973), and *Unrevolutionary England, 1603-42* (London, 1990) and K. Sharpe (ed.) *Faction and Parliament* (Oxford, 1978).

¹⁰ The issues discussed below by no means account for the revisionist interventions in their entirety. For a summary of these from opposed perspectives, see Russell, *Origins* and *Unrevolutionary England*, Sharpe, *Faction and Parliament*, and Cogswell, Cust & Lake, “Revisionism and its legacies” in Cogswell *et al*.

¹¹ See Lake, “Retrospective”; for an indication of the difficulty of escaping prior categories, see C. Russell, *Parliaments and English politics 1621-1629* (Oxford, 1982).

Jonathan Clark.¹² Post-revisionism was a direct response to the perceived inadequacies of this new revisionist consensus that emerged around this time.¹³ Rather than a simple rejection of orthodoxy post-revisionism has always been a self-conscious attempt to engage with but then move beyond it.¹⁴ Substantively this has involved the acceptance of revisionism's challenges to socio-economic determinism and the Whig political narrative. Set against this is an attempt to expand the political sphere; to reconnect this to its various contexts – economic, social and cultural; to reincorporate printed materials as a critical part of historical reality; and to reconstruct over-arching historical narratives (now in the plural). Recently, some commentators have even discerned the emergence of a new orthodoxy. Hence, in a recent edition of *The Journal of British Studies*, the editors claim that 'a new historiographic [*sic*] consensus we call the new post-revisionism seems to have emerged' – we are all, it would seem, (new) post-revisionists now.¹⁵

An appropriated version (or rather versions) of Jurgen Habermas's *bourgeois* public sphere has proven a key heuristic in this post-revisionist sublimation.¹⁶ I say 'appropriated' because in its post-revisionist adoption, Habermas's concept has been subjected to considerable adaptation (and, not occasionally, abuse): indeed in one influential account, Habermas has, alarmingly, even been 'de-Habermas-ed'.¹⁷ Whilst in most instances this process of adaptation has been unspoken, or at least under-theorized, in the most ambitious and influential intervention in the field to date, Peter Lake and Steve Pincus have been admirably explicit in their own usage of

¹² As is often the case with such triumphalist works, Clark marked the high tide of revisionism's advance, J. Clark, *Revolution and Rebellion* (Cambridge, 1986); for the impact in social history, see A. Wilson, "A critical portrait of social history" in A. Wilson (ed.), *Rethinking social history: English society 1570-1920 and its interpretation* (Manchester, 1993).

¹³ Critical early, perhaps even proto-, post-revisionist interventions are R. Cust, *The forced loan and English politics: 1626-1628* (Oxford, 1987), A. Hughes, *Politics, society and civil war in Warwickshire, 1620-1660* (Cambridge, 1987), Cust & Hughes, *Conflict*, T. Cogswell, *The blessed revolution: English politics and the coming of war, 1621-1624* (Cambridge, 1989), Cogswell *et al.*

¹⁴ For this insistence see, R. Cust & A. Hughes, "Introduction: after Revisionism" in Cust & Hughes, *Conflict*, K. Sharpe & P. Lake, "Introduction" in K. Sharpe & P. Lake (ed.), *Culture and politics in early Stuart England* (London, 1994), pp.1-20; Cogswell, Cust & Lake, "Revisionism and its legacies" in Cogswell *et al.*; Lake & Pincus, "Rethinking". For examples of early opposition, from different perspectives, C. Hill, "Parliament and people in seventeenth-century England", *Past & Present*, 92 (1981) pp.100-24, and J. Hexter, "Historiographical Perspectives: The Early Stuarts And Parliament: Old Hat And The Nouvelle Vague", *Parliamentary History*, 1 (1982) pp.181-215.

¹⁵ B. Cowan & E. Elbourne, "Editors' Introduction", *The Journal of British Studies*, 52/02 (Apr., 2013), p.285.

¹⁶ Habermas, *STPS*; for appropriations and applications see, *inter alia*, Cowan, *SLC*; Knights, *Representation*; Lake & Pincus, "Rethinking"; Lake & Questier, "Agency, Appropriation and Rhetoric", P. Lake, with M. Questier, *The Antichrist's lewd hat: Protestants, Papists and players in post-Reformation England* (New Haven, 2002); Pincus, "Coffee"; J. Peacey, *Politicians & Pamphleteers: propaganda during the English civil wars and interregnum*, (Aldershot, 2004).

¹⁷ Lake & Questier, "Agency, Appropriation and Rhetoric".

Habermas's master concept.¹⁸ Stripped of its Marxist underpinning, their notion of the public sphere is doubly transformative; first expanding our understanding of 'the political', and then tracing its transformation over the 'long 17th century'. As a result, their account reorients politics towards communicative practices and their contemporary representation.¹⁹ Such an approach incorporates additional actors - a variety of 'publics' for these acts of communication - as well as additional practices within the political field. Secondly, the authors have proposed a long-term chronology whereby a 'post-Reformation public sphere', commencing in 1530, gives way to a 'transitional' period, encompassing 1640 and 1688, before culminating in a 'post-Revolutionary' public sphere thereafter. This transformation, or series of transformations, can be measured on a number of axes: of productive scale; from the episodic to the regular; from socially-exclusive to -extensive; from metropolitan to national; from questions of religious identity to matters of political economy; and, finally, from the abnormal, via the normal, to the normative: in other words, an epistemic and epochal break in political norms and practices. Indeed the public sphere has become so ubiquitous in recent research that one commentator has ambivalently noted its 'present status as a prescriptive disciplinary category - a category to be invoked in studies that aspire to disciplinary significance'.²⁰

Some twenty-five years ago, Tim Harris noted that the Restoration was 'a period which has scarcely begun to shake off its reputation as an unconstructive episode in English history, an era marking time'.²¹ The relative (rather than absolute) paucity of this field and the reasons for this - particularly the Restoration's awkward yet ultimately irrelevant position in Whig narratives of constitutional development - were discussed by Harris in typically incisive fashion, and are familiar enough to require only identification rather than rehearsal here.²² This 'transitional' character that Harris noted has been replicated in the Restoration's positioning

¹⁸ Influential, that is, as a summary of existing research and the staking out of a research agenda, Lake & Pincus, "Rethinking".

¹⁹ Lake & Pincus, "Rethinking", p.273.

²⁰ H. Mah, "Phantasies of the Public Sphere: Rethinking the Habermas of Historians", *The Journal of Modern History*, 72:1 (Mar., 2000), p.154. Mah is referring to the situation in French historiography, but his comments are equally apposite in the English context.

²¹ T. Harris, "Introduction: Revising the Restoration" in Goldie, Harris, & Seaward (ed.), *The Politics of Religion in Restoration England* (Oxford, 1990), p.x.

²² For other historiographical surveys of this period see T. Harris, "What's New about the Restoration?", *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (Summer, 1997), pp. 187-222 and G. De Krey, "Between Revolutions: Re-Appraising the Restoration in Britain", *History Compass* 6/3 (2008), pp.738-773.

within broader historical periodization; in literary as much as historical surveys.²³ Where 1640 has often served as the terminus for longer-term studies, typically organized around the historical categories of 'Renaissance' or 'Reformation', 1660 has often marked the starting point for studies oriented towards the 'long 18th century', and its familiar preoccupations with 'the Enlightenment' and 'Modernity'.²⁴ In fact Harris's claim, as is equally well-known was as much rhetorical as descriptive, in that his comments prefaced an edited collection which advertised, somewhat confusingly, a renaissance in the study of the Restoration (fortunately a reformation was not promised). The collection itself contained work from a number of scholars; particularly the three editors and Jonathan Scott, whose research would, with the additions of Justin Champion, Mark Knights and Steve Pincus, if not quite resuscitate, at least reinvigorate the prone corpus of Restoration scholarship in the subsequent two decades. From an initial position of inferiority, to quote Gary De Krey (another interested party), 'much of the most interesting and innovative historical work about seventeenth-century English politics and religion has focused either on the Restoration decades or upon the entire late Stuart era from 1660 through 1714'.²⁵ Despite this recent rebirth, Restoration studies has replicated, at the micro level, the larger imbalance between the early and late Stuart historiography. Here the renewed emphasis has been almost exclusively on the end of Charles' reign and on James' briefer occupation of the throne.²⁶ The 1660s and, more still, the 1670s (at least prior to around 1678) have been virtually ignored (the important exceptions represented by Paul Seaward's- and Steve Pincus's monographs I discuss in detail in the following chapters).²⁷ Moreover, and despite De Krey's claim, there is some evidence that this revival of the Restoration is losing momentum. Without wishing to denigrate those scholars that have recently (or reasonably recently) entered the field – Bill Bulman, Jacqueline Rose, Scott Sowerby and Grant Tapsell, for example – a sub-field like the Restoration can scarcely afford to lose its leading practitioners; Harris to the early 17th century, Knights and Pincus to the 18th century, as well as Scott and Miller.

Another feature of the historiography of this period has been the almost complete absence of the Manichean scholastic clashes that have marred (or, as you like it, enlivened) the early

²³ For an interesting critique of this literary studies commonplace see S. Zwicker, "Is There Such a Thing as Restoration Literature?" *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 69, No. 3 (September 2006), pp.425-450.

²⁴ For opposed views on the 'modernity' of the Restoration, see A. Houston & S. Pincus (ed.), *A nation transformed: England after the Restoration* (Cambridge, 2001), Pincus, "Coffee", & *FMR*, and Scott, *England's Troubles*.

²⁵ De Krey, "Between Revolutions", p.739.

²⁶ The Exclusion Crisis or the Glorious Revolution provide the focus of important studies by Harris, Knights, Scott and Pincus, see Harris, *London Crowds*, Knights, *Politics and Opinion*, Pincus, *FMR*, and J. Scott, *Algernon Sidney and the Restoration crisis, 1677-1683* (Cambridge, 1991).

²⁷ Pincus, *P&P*, Seaward, *Cavalier Parliament*.

Stuart period. Indeed, the impact of post-revisionism - and of revisionism before that - has been less marked, and more ambivalent in Restoration historiography.²⁸ It is noteworthy, for instance, that at a time when the lines of demarcation between the revisionists and post-revisionists were becoming clearer in the study of pre-1660 Britain, an edited collection dedicated to Restoration politics explicitly adopted the language of revisionism, whilst its authors promiscuously pursued revisionist and post-revisionist approaches!²⁹ Despite this general injunction, conflict has not been wholly absent from Restoration historiography. Jonathan Scott has been particularly critical of this gravitational pull exerted upon Restoration historiography by the concerns of the 'long 18th century', insisting that the structural shortcomings of the Stuart state and the ideological anxieties of early Stuart society persisted across the 17th century in its entirety. For Scott, 'Restoration memory' was alternately dominated by fears of 'popery' and 'popularity'.³⁰ Pincus, by contrast, has argued that 1660 represents a fundamental break with the early Stuart past, and has identified an incipient 'modernity' in the period. In his work, the public sphere and particularly its Habermasian avatar, the novel phenomenon of the Restoration coffeehouse, have played a crucial role. Indeed Pincus goes further than Habermas; including subaltern groups within the political discussions that there took place, extending their geographic reach to the provinces, and affording these discussions an increasingly normative status.³¹ Scott and Pincus then set up an interesting historiographical dialectic; between the forces of continuity and discontinuity, the anchor of the early Stuart past and the promise of an 18th century future. Whilst it is difficult to precisely map the historiographical divisions of the early Stuart period onto the post-1660 world, if Pincus pursues an explicitly post-revisionist agenda Scott is in many respects the most forceful revisionist working (or perhaps formerly working) in this period.³² To be clear, the claim being made here is not that Scott and Pincus represent the only possible positions to adopt in this field: a point nicely made by Tim Harris.³³ Instead, Scott and Pincus, have, in characteristically incisive, even polemical, fashion, identified two critical and countervailing strains in Restoration history and its historiography; each of which is central to this study.

²⁸ For the muted impact of revisionism on this field see De Krey, "Between Revolutions", p.739.

²⁹ See the introductory chapters in Cust & Hughes, published in 1989, and Harris, published 1990; Cust and Hughes, "Introduction: after Revisionism" and Harris, "Introduction: Revising the Restoration". There is an irony here as Harris's study of Restoration crowds is often cited as a post-revisionist study, and his historiographical approach is, in general, closer to 1970s social history than 1980s revisionism.

³⁰ Scott, *England's Troubles*; see also Miller, *Popery*.

³¹ Pincus, "Coffee".

³² Scott's argument for instance is incompatible with Clark's ancien regime view of 17th to 19th century British history; Scott, *England's Troubles*, J. Clark, *English Society, 1660-1832* (Cambridge, 2000).

³³ 'For polemical effect Pincus tends to overstate his conclusions, or at least to reduce them to oversimplified formulations that do not do justice to the subtlety and sophistication of his analysis. In this respect there is something of Jonathan Scott in him', T. Harris, "What's new", p.203.

The final body of scholarship that this work engages with is Pepys studies; though, at the risk of piling qualification upon qualification, this is probably better thought of as two fairly distinct sub-fields. Given his status as historical source and historical figure, it should come as no surprise that Pepys remains the subject of continued historical interest and considerable historiographical production; and it is here that a division within the field is appropriate. On the one hand, Pepys is the subject of a steady flow of popular histories - some of high quality - ranging from conventional biographies, like Tomalin's, to such recent additions to the oeuvre as *Pepys's London* and *Inside Pepys' London*.³⁴ On the other hand, Pepys' narrative has been a critical source for any historian studying the Restoration period; particularly those – in this case Hutton, Seaward and Pincus - that are interested in its opening decade.³⁵ Pepys' wide-ranging interests have also ensured that his narrative is an invaluable source in a variety of academic sub-disciplines; social history, cultures of consumption, the history of reading, theatre studies, and gender studies to name just a few.³⁶ To the extent that these studies should be considered as *political* histories it is on the recent assumption that 'the personal is political': that is, as studies of the politics of the private sphere. In capital-'P' political histories - what Pepys termed 'matters of state' - the diarist has generally appeared as one witness amongst many (if a particularly well-informed one). The exception to this rule, where Pepys takes centre stage, has been the studies of his career as a naval administrator: the area of Pepys' life that first attracted the attention of historians in Britain's imperial age, and has continued to attract readers and historians ever since.³⁷ Whilst the unstable interface between Pepys' professional life and national politics is undoubtedly a central concern in these works, no study has been conducted taking into account the recent developments in the study of

³⁴ Tomalin, *Pepys*; Stephen Porter's work is much the superior of the latter, almost, identically-titled works, S. Porter, *Pepys's London: Everyday Life in London 1650-1703* (Stroud, 2011), J. Bastable, *Inside Pepys' London* (Newton Abbot, 2011).

³⁵ Hutton, *Restoration*, Seaward, *Cavalier Parliament*, Pincus, *P&P*.

³⁶ *Inter alia*, I. Archer, "Social Networks in Restoration London: the evidence of Samuel Pepys's diary", in A. Shepard & P. Withington (ed.), *Communities in early modern England* (Manchester, 2000), Cowan, SLC, E. Jajdelska, "Pepys in the history of reading", *The Historical Journal*, 50(3), (2007) pp.549-569, H. Love, "Who Were the Restoration Audience?", *The Yearbook of English Studies*, Vol. 10, Literature and Its Audience, I Special Number (1980), pp.21-44 & C. Muldrew, *The economy of obligation : the culture of credit and social relations in early modern England* (Basingstoke, 1998). Dr. Kate Loveman is soon to publish a study on Pepys: I am grateful to her for alerting me on this and for other comments.

³⁷ Tanner was a pioneer in this respect, see J. Tanner, "The Administration of the Navy from the Restoration to the Revolution", *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 12, No. 45 (Jan., 1897), pp.17-66. Knighton has recently published an account of Pepys' entire career as a naval administrator. Whilst commendably scholarly, it is clearly aimed at a general, rather than academic audience, C. Knighton, *Pepys and the Navy* (Stroud, 2003). Rodger's account of the Navy is particularly rich, but here Pepys occupies only a small, if significant place, N. Rodger, *The Command of the Ocean: A Naval History of Britain, 1649-1815* (London, 2006).

early modern political history (outlined above); and particularly with an eye to Pepys' relationship to publicity. In short, there has to date been no post-revisionist Pepys.³⁸

How then might such a figure, a post-revisionist Pepys, be constituted? First, it requires the relocation of Pepys from the periphery to the centre of the account; next it involves placing him squarely in the public arena; finally, it requires the application of a Habermasian problematic. In the last instance, I intend in this study, like a good Renaissance humanist, to strip away the various glosses and to return, *ad fontes*, to Habermas's text. As noted above, the aim here is not demonstrative: I do not wish (or expect) to discover a pristine public sphere – the 'ideal-type' – lurking in Pepys' diaries (or anywhere else for that matter). Instead, this chapter examines the discursive categories, practices, institutions, agents and identities – both individual and collective – that Habermas's study illuminated. Critically, Habermas examined a transformative rearrangement – across the various vectors noted above – of 'public' and 'private'; the development of a new form of subjectivity; and the emergence of a new political subject, 'the public'.³⁹ Such an approach is particularly appropriate to Pepys. First, in a rare moment of historical specificity, Habermas identified late 17th century Britain as the point when 'the public', *qua* political subject, began to emerge.⁴⁰ It is perhaps instructive to highlight here that Pepys himself uses 'public' as a noun on only a handful of occasions (and never 'public opinion'); despite regularly using a variety of terms to convey a sense of collective opinion and the carriers of those opinions. Next, as noted in the quotation that opens both his text and this study, the categories of 'public' and 'private' are central to Pepys' diary, providing one of the critical structuring elements for his narrative – a means for Pepys to both comprehend and discipline his world. Furthermore, the diary is at once an account of the political sphere and its practices, the authorial construction of a particular actor (or subjectivity), and the textual fashioning of a subject, 'Samuel Pepys', within that narrative. Finally, Pepys as subject is positioned in interesting and at times problematic ways to different notions of 'the public': as a member of an expansive discursive community, but also, in his role as a 'bureaucrat', a representative of public authority. Indeed a central reading of Pepys' manuscript, although not of course the only one available, is as the author's record of his

³⁸ Although Pepys does appear frequently if intermittently in Pincus's avowedly post-revisionist account of the Second Dutch War, *P&P*.

³⁹ Or to be more accurate, Habermas addressed these issues as they related to the emergence of the bourgeois public sphere in the first half of his account, Habermas, *STPS*.

⁴⁰ For Habermas's comments on the precise chronology of his bourgeois public sphere (often rather difficult to disentangle), see Habermas, *STPS*, Chapters 3, 5, 7 & 8.

trajectory from private subject to public person: that is as an exercise in, and experience of, personal publicity.⁴¹

The thesis is divided into four chapters which can in turn be divided into three pairs.⁴² In addition to the over-arching interest in questions of publicity, the first two chapters examine public spaces. The opening chapter follows Pepys into that most ideologically-loaded site, the Restoration coffeehouse, and positions him within the coffeehouse public. It examines his practices there and his representations of this institution within his narrative, before attempting to move beyond its institutional boundaries in order to identify a wider field of discourse and (self-) publication. The second chapter finds Pepys in a different, but equally-freighted location, the street; positions him as an element in a different kind of political subject, 'the crowd'; and examines him in a different mode, at least initially, as audience of representative publicity. In a reversal of the first chapter, as the events examined unfold this collective subject is revealed as an active actor in its own right; and the act of publicity that is its object turned into the subject of discursive production. If the first two chapters are interested primarily in space, the second pair of chapters is concerned with various public identities: 'the public' as normative political subject and possible subject positions within the field of publicity, including Pepys'. The third chapter, through an examination of Pepys' reading of a polemical pamphlet exchange, examines the discursive construction of normative identities – in this case 'the papist' and 'the Royalist' – within the field of Restoration publicity. Finally, the fourth chapter re-examines the now familiar theme of 'popularity' as an instance of the politics of publicity in the early Restoration. Here Pepys' position in relation to the earlier chapters is inverted. Rather than standing as witness to and participant in the Restoration public Pepys is now increasingly the subject of public discourse. This process or experience is traced through his social practices and his textual representation of both self and 'other'. Thus, the opening and closing chapters form an additional pair: the first examines Pepys' early foray onto the (or better a) public stage and his associated practices of self-publicity; the last his increasing discomfort in this arena, and his associated desire for privacy and even retirement. Taken in its entirety, the thesis follows Pepys' trajectory across the politicized field of Restoration publicity as it is fashioned in his private narrative: his disposition towards publicity; his practices and his representations of this space; and his shifting position within that the

⁴¹ The meaning of Pepys can of course be read in numerous ways, but the reading pursued here is, I would argue, to go *with* the grain of Pepys' authorial intention rather than against it; see Q. Skinner, "Motives, Intentions and the Interpretation of Texts", *New Literary History*, 3:2, 'On Interpretation: I' (Winter, 1972), pp.393-408.

⁴² Mathematically, of course, it would be possible to create six pairs from any set of four chapters.

field. The conclusion then attempts to apply these findings to the three fields of study identified in this introductory section.

Chapter I – Pepys and the Public

Samuel Pepys' journal entry for the 23rd January 1663 captures the diarist careering around the capital, engaged in a typical round of professional meetings, family visits and personal consumption. Pepys punctuates this quotidian narrative with two pauses. Recording the first he writes '[And] I to a coffee-house, where Sir J. Cutler [Sir John Cutler; merchant, City Alderman and M.P.] was; and in discourse, among other things, he did fully make it out that the trade of England is as great as ever it was, only in more hands'. 'His discourse', Pepys noted, 'was well worth hearing.' A little later that day, the same entry states: 'Thence homeward; and meeting Sir W. Batten [Pepys's colleague on the Navy Board, and another M.P.], turned back again to a Coffee-house, and there drunk more till I was almost sick'.⁴³ The image of an over-caffeinated Pepys narrowly avoiding emptying the contents of his stomach (who knows where) is an appropriate, if hardly alluring, one with which to open this study. For whilst it gestures towards the dramatic impact of coffee and coffeehouses in recent representations of the Restoration, it also captures a common response to the prospect of yet another treatment of this familiar topic – historians too, it would seem, are becoming sick of coffee.

'The Coffeehouse'

The coffeehouse has, of course, occupied a prominent if contested place in accounts of the late 17th and 18th centuries that long pre-dates recent academic interest. It is closely associated with the long-dominant Whig representations of their own historical ground-zero. Describing the state of England at the accession of James II, Macaulay, the greatest of all Whig historians, wrote; 'The coffee house must not be dismissed with a cursory mention', continuing, 'It might indeed at that time have been not improperly called a most important political institution...the coffeehouses were the chief organs through which the public opinion of the metropolis vented'.⁴⁴ This political function of the Restoration coffeehouse– the formation and expression of a metropolitan 'public opinion' – was, for Macaulay, constituted through everyday gendered practices. He thus notes that, 'Every man of the upper or middle class [*sic*] went *daily* to his coffee house to learn the news and to discuss it'.⁴⁵ In a reformulation of the ante-bellum legal fiction of 'separate-but-equal', Macaulay continues, 'Nobody was excluded from these places

⁴³ 23rd Jan., 1663, Pepys, iv, p.22.

⁴⁴ T. Macaulay, *The history of England, from the accession of James the second*, C. Firth (ed.) (London, 1913), i, p.360; Macaulay seems to have based many of these judgments on openly polemical accounts of the coffeehouse, p.362, n.1.

⁴⁵ Macaulay, *History*, i, p.360; emphasis added.

who laid his penny at the bar. Yet every rank and profession, and every shade of religious and political opinion, had its own head quarters'.⁴⁶ Having carefully sorted the inhabitants of each coffeehouse by these markers, Macaulay, perhaps caught up in a fit of prosody, confusingly jumbled them all together again: 'Under no roof was a greater variety of figures to be seen. There were Earls in stars and garters, clergymen in cassocks and bands, pert Templars [i.e. presumably lawyers rather than Knights], sheepish lads from the Universities, translators and indexmakers in ragged coats of frieze'.⁴⁷ Interestingly Macaulay linked this combination of institution, participants and practices - 'these gregarious habits' - with the processes by which cultural identities were formed (or to use the Victorian 'jargon', 'the forming of character'). Anticipating the concerns of cultural historians, for Macaulay, it was in such institutions, and through these practices, that the cultural identity of 'the Londoner' was formed (or as his successors would have it, 'constructed' or 'imagined') in opposition to his 'other', 'the rustic gentleman'; the familiar seventeenth (and eighteenth century) cultural stereotypes, that is, of 'City' and 'Country', and 'cit' and 'bumpkin'.⁴⁸

Critically, this already historiographically- and ideologically-loaded site was appropriated by the intellectual polymath, Jurgen Habermas in his immanent critique of mid-century German democracy, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*.⁴⁹ If Habermas's account was principally concerned with analysing the degradation of the public sphere in contemporary societies ('the transformation' of his title) especially Adenauer's Germany, for narrative and 'critical' purposes he needed to uncover its historical origin, and thereby extract its emancipatory potential for present-day political purposes.⁵⁰ (Given Habermas's affiliation of the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory, one might add that, like Gabriel Harvey, he studied his history for action).⁵¹ In his historical-enquiry-cum-manifesto, the Augustan coffeehouse – not, note, its Restoration precursor - figured as the key site in his account of the emergence of a specifically *bourgeois* public sphere in Britain.⁵² Indeed, in a rare moment of historical specificity, Habermas expressly links this development to political, economic, financial and

⁴⁶ Macaulay, *History*, i, p.361.

⁴⁷ Macaulay, *History*, i, p.362. In another remarkable passage, Macaulay states, "There were...Jew coffee houses where darkeyed money changers from Venice and Amsterdam greeted each other; and Popish coffee houses where, as good Protestants believed, Jesuits planned, over their cups, another great fire, and cast silver bullets to shoot the King", Macaulay, *History*, i, p.362. As in other passages, it is difficult to be sure here whether Macaulay believes this to be an accurate description or a polemical representation of historical reality.

⁴⁸ Macaulay, *History*, i, quotation p.362, see also, pp.362-4.

⁴⁹ Habermas, *STPS*.

⁵⁰ For Habermas's intellectual and institutional affiliations see C. Calhoun, "Introduction" in Calhoun, *Habermas*.

⁵¹ L. Jardine & A. Grafton, "'Studied for Action': how Gabriel Harvey read his Livy", *Past and Present*, 129:1 (1990), pp. 30-78.

⁵² Habermas, *STPS*, pp.32-3, 36, 42 & 58-9.

cultural transformations immediately precipitated by the Glorious Revolution.⁵³ For Habermas the bourgeois public sphere was an imaginary- (or ideal-) as much as a physical space, in which the exercise of public authority was legitimated by reference to a sovereign public that was constituted through inclusive rational discourse, free from the corrupting effects of state and market: that is, as an ideal-type.⁵⁴ For Habermas, like Macaulay, this institution, for all its pretences to universality, was essentially bourgeois in composition (as well as ideology), and metropolitan in character.⁵⁵

Habermas's notion of the public sphere was in turn, if belatedly, seized upon by those early modern historians dissatisfied with the diminution of political form and content asserted by 'revisionism'; and has subsequently proven a remarkably fertile (if at times febrile) concept.⁵⁶ Examining the wider cultural context, it is perhaps interesting to speculate that this interest in early modern communicative practices coincided with contemporary developments in information technology and communication, and in particular a strand of discourse distinguished by its technological determinism and messianic tone, and characterized by an extreme form of free-market liberalism yoked to a peculiar blindness to the presence of market forces and state interference: a kind of techno-utopianism.⁵⁷ Habermas's theoretical framework has been particularly important for the Restoration, which if not the era when the English coffeehouse was born, was certainly the one in which it came of age.⁵⁸ In a deservedly seminal intervention, Steve Pincus located a preternaturally-paradigmatic public sphere in the coffeehouses of Restoration Britain. Disregarding Habermas's reservations, Pincus discovered various subaltern groups (sipping coffee) alongside the more familiar bourgeoisie, reading pamphlets on political economy whilst engaging in rational discourse; traced the spread of this institution across the nation; and, finally, ascribed a precocious normative legitimacy to their discursive practices.⁵⁹ 'Coffeehouses' Pincus states, 'had become so popular because they specialized in the circulation of news'; and more precisely still (and in an echo of Macaulay),

⁵³ As has been noted, the underlying structure of Habermas's account is Marxist, but hardly of the crude and all-too-often caricatured kind. For Habermas's chronology, see Habermas, *STPS*, pp.58-9; on the importance of these developments see also Knights, *Representation*, esp. Ch.1.

⁵⁴ Habermas, *STPS*.

⁵⁵ On the social composition of the coffeehouse, see Habermas, *STPS*, p.56.

⁵⁶ For specific comments on Restoration 'revisionism' see Pincus, "Coffee", pp.810-11. For a discussion of the material produced using the concept of the public sphere, see Lake & Pincus, "Rethinking".

⁵⁷ R. Darnton, "An Early Information Society: News and the Media in Eighteenth-Century Paris", *The American Historical Review*, 105:1 (Feb., 2000), pp.1-35. On 'technological' discourses see R. Lucas, "Web of Disenchantment", *New Left Review*, 77, September – October 2012, pp.45 – 69.

⁵⁸ Cowan, *SLC*, Pincus, "Coffee"; Knights, *Representation*.

⁵⁹ Pincus notes, '[n]ot only were Restoration coffeehouses widely distributed throughout the country but they also appear to have welcomed everyone regardless of gender, social status, or political outlook', "Coffee", p.814; see also Pincus, *P&P*, Ch.18, esp., p.276.

'coffeehouses were places to discuss politics'.⁶¹ The emergence and geographic expansion of the coffeehouse democratized access to information; displacing an earlier system of information exchange shaped by social hierarchy and centred on and limited to the historical hubs of the Court, Westminster, St. Paul's and the Exchange.⁶² In Pincus's work then, this phenomenon marks a genuine epistemic break with the immediate past; not merely with the early Stuart period, but with the early modern era *tout court*: the transformative moment that a multifaceted 'modernity' first appeared.⁶³

Brian Cowan, the doyen (or perhaps Dean) of caffeine studies, has offered a narrative of the 'social life' of coffee that differs from Pincus in important respects.⁶⁴ For Cowan, both coffee, qua commodity, and the coffeehouse as institution need to be carefully situated in a series of contexts; economic, cultural and legal as much as the political context addressed by Macaulay and Pincus. Thus to Pincus's interest in political transformation, the emergence of the sovereign public, Cowan adds the role of coffee in the emergence of a consumer society; and as such he addresses another aspect of the modernization thesis, the 'long 18th century' obsession with the 'birth of a consumer society'. Cowan departs from Pincus's account in two critical respects. First, he insists that the coffeehouse could not erect a firewall to protect it from the various social dispositions that existed in later Stuart society. If the various ways in which that society was structured might be questioned within the coffeehouse, they could not be dispensed with (or, to use the political science jargon, 'bracketed') with obvious consequences for the position of women in the coffeehouse in particular. Secondly, Cowan insists on a temporal separation between the physical and practical emergence and the social integration of coffee, the coffeehouse and coffeehouse practices that Pincus, in his account, all but collapses. For Cowan, the coffeehouse remains the signifier for a series of deep-seated and widely-shared cultural-political anxieties well into the 18th century. In this he is in agreement with Mark Knights' study of the uses of and responses to the various notions of 'public' and 'the public' that emerged in the later Stuart period, but especially after the Glorious

⁶¹ Pincus, "Coffee", pp.818 & 820.

⁶² Pincus, "Coffee", p.833.

⁶³ He thus notes that the coffeehouse 'represents a new conception of political and social space, a conception constitutive of the public sphere', Pincus, "Coffee", p.811. This notion becomes clearer in Pincus's work, but see in particular A. Houston & S. Pincus, "Introduction", in A. Houston and S. Pincus (ed.) *A Nation Transformed: England after the Restoration* (Cambridge, 2001), and S. Pincus, *FMR*

⁶⁴ Cowan, *SLC*, "What was masculine about the public sphere? : Gender and the coffeehouse milieu in post-Restoration England", *History Workshop Journal*, 51 (2001), pp.127-57, "The rise of the coffeehouse reconsidered", *The Historical Journal*, 47:1 (2004) 21-46, "Mr. Spectator and the Coffeehouse Public Sphere", *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 37:3 (2004) 345-66, "Publicity and Privacy in the History of the British Coffeehouse", *History Compass*, 5:4 (2007) 1180-1213.

Revolution.⁶⁵ Only as a result of considerable ideological expenditure – not least on the pages of *The Spectator* - did ‘the coffeehouse’ finally pass from the exotic to the everyday; the dangerous to the mundane.⁶⁶

Despite these important differences, the accounts provided by Pincus and Cowan have much in common; indeed it might fairly be said that the critical distinction is *chronological* rather than *interpretative* (although that is not to minimize the importance of this distinction). They agree, for instance, on both the *singularity* of the coffeehouse, and its *centrality* to a transformative moment in English (and indeed epochal) history; whether styled under the rubric of ‘modernity’, ‘the birth of consumer society’ or ‘the emergence of the public sphere’. Thus where Pincus argues that, ‘The widespread acceptance of the value of public opinion represents a new conception of political and social space, a conception constitutive of the public sphere’, Cowan insists, in similar vein, that the ‘rise of the coffeehouse *expanded* the limits of the politically possible in the decades after the Restoration’, and that it represented, ‘a unique social institution for the dissemination and discussion of news’.⁶⁷ Moving up a level of abstraction, both accept that the coffeehouse was a critical institution that progressed from illegitimate to exemplary status, and then seek the origins of this phenomenon; they are teleological (in the weak, i.e. descriptive rather than normative, sense) in form, with all the weaknesses, as well as the strengths, that such an approach entails. (It is tempting to suggest that this reflects the fact that both historians’ work is oriented – and has become increasingly so - towards the ‘long 18th century’ rather than its less fashionable ‘long 17th century’ counterpart). So ubiquitous has the Restoration coffeehouse become, that Robert Darnton automatically invoked it as the exemplary institution of late Stuart Britain in a recent discussion of early modern ‘information societies’ – despite having earlier explicitly eschewed Habermasian notions of publicity as excessively schematic!⁶⁸

This opening chapter applies a *reductio ad hominem* (to use Adorno’s phrase), to this powerful historiographical construct, through an examination of the narrative of an equally canonical

⁶⁵ Knights, *Representation*.

⁶⁶ In a convincing reading of *The Spectator*, he sees the Whigs, Addison and Steele, as engaged in a discursive decontamination of the coffeehouse; a redrawing of the coffeehouse public, Cowan, *SLC*, Ch.8 and B. Cowan, “Mr. Spectator and the Coffeehouse Public”, *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 37:3, Critical Networks (Spring, 2004), pp. 345-366.

⁶⁷ Pincus, “Coffee”, p.811, Cowan, *SLC*, pp.261-2, emphasis added; see also ‘they [i.e. coffeehouses] created a distinctively new social space in metropolitan society’, Cowan, *SLC*, p.161, and B. Cowan, “Publicity and Privacy in the History of the British Coffeehouse”, *History Compass* 5/4 (2007), p.1185.

⁶⁸ R. Darnton, “An Early Information Society”, p.2.

figure: Samuel Pepys. Pepys' avid interest in 'news' and 'politics' is proven as much by the existence of his diary itself, as a record of such news, as the events it describes. During 1664, for instance, Pepys comments on 'all the newes', 'high newes', 'fresh newes', 'strange newes', and, unusually - and disappointingly - to 'no newes'.⁶⁹ Yet despite his diary providing the closest thing we have to a 'thick description' of Restoration coffeehouse practices and their signifying context – much more so than Robert Hooke's more cursory record - Pepys has been accorded a curiously bifurcated position in coffeehouse histories; superficially omnipresent, yet substantively absent. In Cowan's monograph he enjoys a supporting role as an observer on the periphery of the virtuosi that introduce coffee to London and play a central part in his narrative.⁷¹ More surprisingly (or perhaps not), in Pincus's article Pepys is dispatched unceremoniously to the footnotes.⁷²

This chapter presents a quantitative and qualitative reading of Pepysian *practice* as recorded in his diaries; that is from the opening of 1660 through to the end of May 1669, a roughly decade long period. Such a focused approach presents its own methodological problems: most obviously in terms of personal subjectivity, chronological span and geographical reach. (The particular problems inherent in the diary form are discussed further below). As a result, the following argument only directly engages with a short chronological segment of the existing historiography in general; and with the arguments of Pincus and Cowan in particular: it has little to say then about the coffeehouse culture of the Augustan or Georgian periods. The hope however is that these shortcomings in evidential breadth and chronological reach are compensated for by the resulting increase in contextual depth. Unsurprisingly, there are many points of accord between Pepysian practice, as discussed below, and the existing historiography sketched out above; an intellectual debt and interpretative overlap which I am happy (as well as beholden) to acknowledge. Nonetheless, in its entirety, the material presented here suggests that, for this period at least, the need for a supplementary Pepysian position. This challenges the centrality of the coffeehouse, calls into question the resulting interpretative chronologies, and reassesses the functions the coffeehouse performed for its customers. Indeed, in the face of this distinguished and massive body of historiography I want to close these framing remarks with a modest revision to the emerging consensus; that, contrary to widely-held assumptions, Pepys, in fact, never visited 'the coffeehouse'. In light of the quotation from his diary that opened this chapter, such a bald statement might seem at best quixotic (and at worst a sign of incipient madness). Nevertheless, in the face of the

⁶⁹ Pepys, v, pp.286, 285, 283, 312 & 220.

⁷¹ See, Cowan, *SLC*, pp.105-8.

⁷² Pincus, "Coffee".

evidence already presented and expanded in considerable detail hereafter, and the weight of existing scholarship, I will maintain that – barring certain exceptional (and materially insignificant) circumstances – Pepys did not in fact go to the coffeehouses of Restoration London; or, at least, not in the manner that has been ascribed to him.

Pepys' Social Practices

Pepys's first recorded visit to a coffeehouse occurs as early as the 9th January 1660: 'and after that I went towards my office, and in my way met with W. Simons, Muddiman, and Jack Price [Pepys's colleagues at the Exchequer; and the well-known journalist], and went with them to Harper's ...Thence I went with Muddiman to the Coffee-House, and gave 18d. to be entered of the Club.'⁷³ This entry captures Pepys as we first meet him in the diary period: the young man-of-business, acting as an 'intelligencer' for his patron, Edward Mountagu; but also with a personal interest in what he terms, 'the condition of the State'.⁷⁴ The final reference to coffeehouses in the diaries occurs a little over eight years later, at the end of June 1668: 'So up [to St. James] to wait on the Duke of York, and thence, with [Sir] W[illiam] Coventry, walked to White Hall [and] good discourse about the Navy...Thence to the Harp and Ball I to drink, and so to the Coffee-house in Covent Garden; but met with nobody but Sir Philip Howard [the soldier, M.P., and later Governor of Jamaica], who shamed me before the whole house there, in commendation of my speech in Parliament.'⁷⁵ This public acknowledgement of Pepys' recent parliamentary appearance in defence of the Navy Board in turn illustrates the diarist's remarkable social ascent since his first recorded trip to the coffeehouse some eight years earlier. Despite providing apposite markers of Pepys' progress, these two visits, as will become clear, were in important respects wholly unrepresentative of his coffeehouse practices in this period.

By my calculation, these two visits book-end some ninety-eight references to visits to various coffeehouses in the period 1660 to 1669.⁷⁶ Removing those visits falling in January and February 1660, that is, before the Restoration proper, the total falls to ninety. In just short of a decade then, Pepys *records* visiting a coffeehouse on average around ten times a year, or a little under once a month. To put this figure into some kind of context, in the same period

⁷³ 9th Jan., 1660, Pepys, i, pp.12-13.

⁷⁴ For this interest see, 1st Jan., 1660, Pepys, i, pp.1 & 2, and *passim*.

⁷⁵ 22nd Jun., 1668, Pepys, ix, p.248.

⁷⁶ Latham calculated a slightly lower figure of eighty visits, Pepys, x, p.71. Pepys also makes four additional references to coffeehouses that do not involve visits which I discuss below.

Pepys documented visiting more than a hundred *different* taverns, inns and ale-houses.⁷⁷ He visited Harper's Tavern, on King St. in Westminster, where he went with Muddiman, Simons and How before attending the Rota (see quotation above), on some thirty-six occasions in 1660 alone; and the Harp-and-Ball, a Tavern near Charing Cross, which he stopped before his final coffeehouse entry, some seventeen times. These two establishments alone account for almost half as many recorded visits as coffeehouses taken in total.⁷⁸ This imbalance between recorded visits to coffeehouse and taverns becomes less surprising when their relative incidence in the social fabric of London is taken into account. In May 1663 there were some 82 coffee-sellers in the City, mostly clustered around its mercantile centre, the Royal Exchange. By comparison, there were more than 400 taverns within the City in 1638; and over 1,000 alehouses in the same space in 1614.⁷⁹ It is worth pausing then over Robert Latham's judgment that 'the tavern was to Londoners of Pepys's time what the coffeehouse, club and restaurant have been to later generations'.⁸⁰

These figures for the *incidence* of Pepys's visits to the coffeehouse are reinforced when turning to their *distribution*; for Pepys's activities in this regard were decidedly irregular (see Figure 1). The diary period starts promisingly enough, with eleven visits in 1660, although eight of these (as mentioned above) pre-date the Restoration period proper. But after this initial burst, Pepys appears to have quit the coffeehouse milieu almost entirely, failing to record any visits for months on end – with three further instances in post-Restoration 1660, and just four and two in total for 1661 and 1662 respectively. Following that fallow period, Pepys seems to have regained his taste for coffee, and there is a spike in activity in 1663 and 1664 – to twenty-six and forty-three visits – when Pepys's record of coffeehouse visits peaks. In fact almost one third of all the visits recorded over these nine-and-a-half years took place in the four months from November 1663 to February 1664.⁸¹ After this rush of activity, Pepys' record of attendance rapidly petered out again. Seven visits appear in 1665, only two in 1666, none at all in 1667, two more in 1668 and finally none again in the final five months of the diary in 1669: in total some eleven references in just under four-and-a-half years. Whilst the number of recorded visits is clearly not insignificant, it is hard to sustain the conclusion that *for Pepys* the

⁷⁷ Pepys, x, p.416.

⁷⁸ Pepys also visited the Dolphin on Tower St. on over forty occasions; and the various Swans (there are four possibilities) on over 150 occasions.

⁷⁹ For figures on coffeehouses see Pepys, x, p.70; for taverns, inns and ale-houses, see Pepys, x, p.416. For the geographical concentration of coffeehouses within Pepys's London, see Cowan, *SLC*, pp.156-61

⁸⁰ Pepys, x, p.417.

⁸¹ i.e. 9 in November and 1 in December 1663, then 9 in January and another 9 in February 1664.

coffeehouse was, in *quantitative* terms, critical to his communicative practices, let alone in some way privileged; and by the latter part of the diaries it had ceased to figure in them altogether. If Pepys was, as Cowan asserts, ‘ardent in his devotion to coffeehouse society’, his fidelity appears to have been characteristically fickle.⁸² Pepysian historical coffeehouse practice appears to be at odds with its dominant historiographical representation for this period.

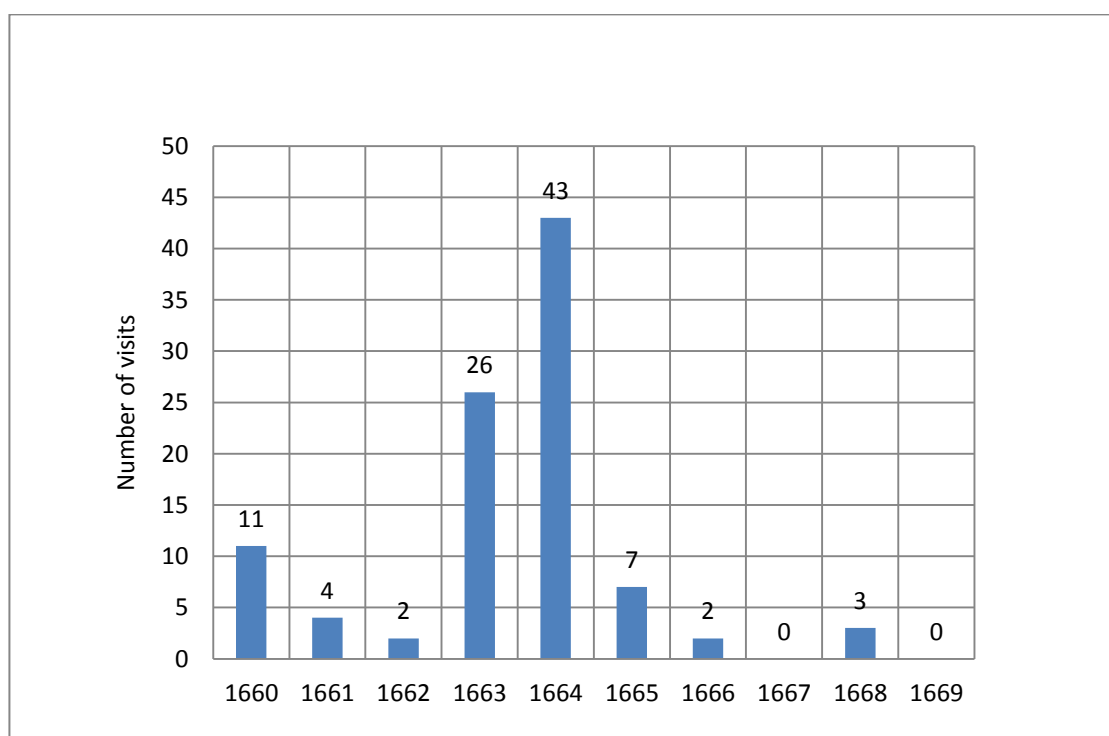


Figure 1 – The Coffeehouse in the Diary: Coffeehouse visits in Pepys’ diaries by year (including pre-Restoration period)

Pepys’s diaries do not cover a uniform period, and there are plausible explanations for these absences; personal, professional, and providential. Taking the last of these mitigating factors first, the impact of the Fire of London on Pepys’s practices is the most straightforward to assess; and proved in many ways the most profound. The coffeehouses that Pepys’s patronized were located in the area surrounding the Royal Exchange; part of the city that was devastated in September 1666, and was still to be rebuilt at the conclusion of the diary. Touring the charred remains of the City on 5th September 1666, Pepys noted, ‘The Exchange a sad sight, nothing standing there, of all the statues or pillars, but Sir Thomas Gresham’s picture

⁸² Cowan, *SLC*, p.106. The criticism of Cowan here is that, like other advocates of the coffeehouse, he has little evidence of coffeehouse *practices* to base his claims on.

in the corner'.⁸³ Whilst the functions and functionaries of the Exchange, with Pepys in attendance, had by the 7th September relocated the short distance to Gresham College, it is unclear that the cluster of coffeehouses that had surrounded it was able to do so as quickly.⁸⁴ Hence, at one level, the lack of coffeehouse visits recorded after autumn 1666 – none in the City itself; only three in total, all to Covent Garden – can be accounted for in terms unrelated to the intrinsic attractions of the milieu itself. Yet it is important to note that Pepys, a frequent visitor to Whitehall and Westminster, chose not to shift his coffeehouse practices westwards (i.e. to those areas that had remained unaffected), despite an appetite for news that was, to all appearances, undiminished. Instead, when he found himself in this part of town, he seems to have preferred frequenting the environs of the Court and Westminster Hall; and regularly found time for visiting such taverns as the Harp and Ball, the King's Head, the Red Lion and the Swan. It is unclear how many coffeehouses there were in this part of town, but even if it was necessity rather than choice; supply, that is, rather than demand, that dictated Pepys' desertion of this milieu, the effect was the same.

The visitation of the Plague the year before seems to have had a similarly disruptive, albeit briefer, impact on Pepys's practices. Having recorded no visits for almost nine months, on the 16th February 1666 Pepys noted, 'to the Coffee-House, the first time I have been there, where very full, and company it seems hath been there all the plague time'.⁸⁵ Though admittedly ambiguous – this quotation merely records *Pepys'* absence from 'the Coffee-house' and not its cause – the epidemic provides the most obvious explanation for this interruption. Pepys had first noted the return of the plague at the end of April 1665, but it was not until June that it becomes a menacing presence in his journal.⁸⁶ That summer the Lord Mayor and Alderman issued orders against, 'disorderly Tipling in Taverns, Coffee-houses and Cellars', identified (incorrectly it turned out), 'as...the greatest occasion of dispersing the Plague'.⁸⁷ In addition, at this time the day-to-day operations of the Navy Office were relocated to Greenwich.⁸⁸ As a result, activity on the Exchange, the locale, as noted above, of Pepys's coffeehouse visits, was greatly diminished. Pepys's entry for the 28th August recording, 'I to the Exchange, and I think

⁸³ 5th Sep., 1666, Pepys, vii, p.276.

⁸⁴ 7th Sep., 1666, Pepys, vii, p.280; the luxury goods shops reopened fairly quickly, see 24th Dec., 1666, Pepys, vii, p.420.

⁸⁵ 16th Feb., 1666, Pepys, vii, p.45; the previous reference to coffeehouses is from the previous May, 'Thence to the Coffee-house with Creed, where I have not been a great while', 24th May 1665, Pepys, vi, p.108.

⁸⁶ The first reference to the Plague is on 30th Apr., 1665, Pepys, vi, p.93, and not again until the 24th May, Pepys, vi, p.108. It is in June that it becomes a feature of the diary, see 10th, 15th & 17th Jun., 1665, Pepys, vi, pp.125, 128 & 131.

⁸⁷ Corporation of London, *Orders conceived and published by the Lord Major and aldermen of the city of London, concerning the infection of the plague* (London, 1665), unpaginated.

⁸⁸ For the general exodus of the more wealthy inhabitants see 21st Jun., 1665, Pepys, vi, p.133.

there was not fifty people upon it'.⁸⁹ The extent of this period (although not its psychological impact) should not, however, be exaggerated.⁹⁰ By late October, Pepys was noting, '[the] 'Change pretty full, and the town begins to be lively again'.⁹¹ Pepys returned to Seething Lane, and the Navy Board office at the beginning of January 1666 (having sent his wife and household ahead of him two weeks earlier); plague deaths were dramatically diminished; and activity in the capital back to normal levels.⁹² At most then, the Plague might account for a seven month hiatus in Pepys' coffeehouse attendance. It can neither account for his disinterest *before* the plague became epidemic, nor for his failure to return in 1666 *after* it had all but disappeared (see Figures 2 & 3); his observation (in the quotation above) that they had remained 'very full' over this period providing an intriguing counterpoint to his own absence.

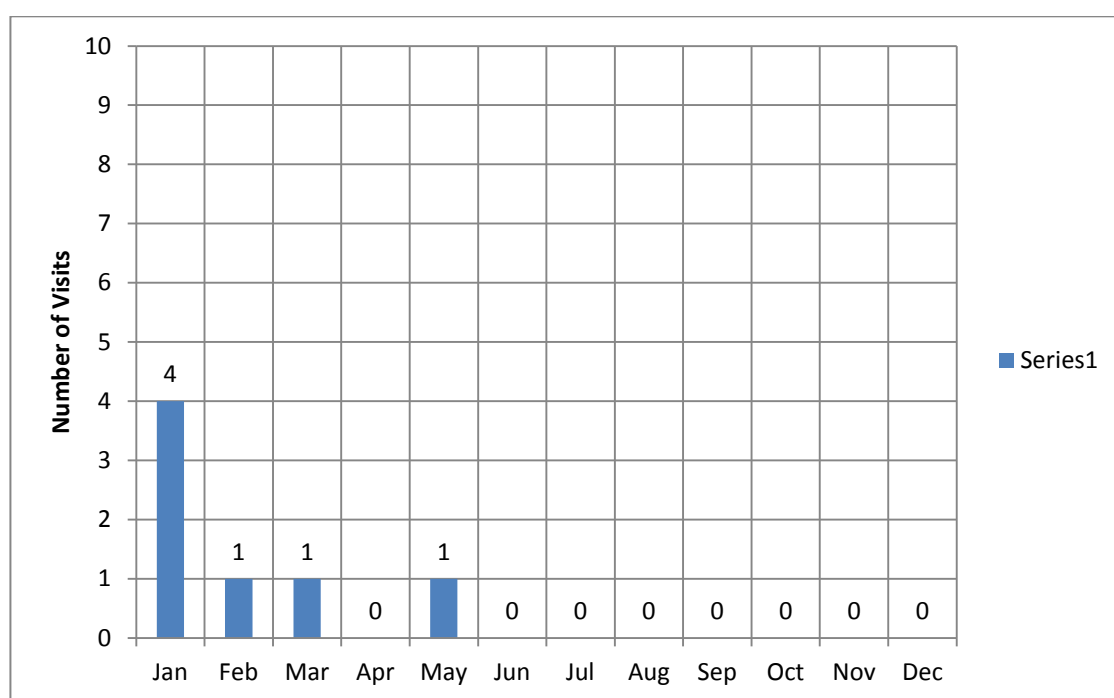


Figure 2 - Pepys' monthly coffeehouse visits in diary: 1665

⁸⁹ 28th Aug., 1665, Pepys, vi, pp.204-5; see also entries for 25th Jul., & 30th Aug., 1665, Pepys, vi, pp.168-9 & 206-7.

⁹⁰ For the psychological effect on Pepys see the entries for 14th Sep., 1665, Pepys, vi, p.225 & 24th Nov., 1665, Pepys, vi, p.307.

⁹¹ 26th Oct., 1665, Pepys, vi, p.278.

⁹² Pepys returned to Seething Lane on the 7th Jan., 1666, Pepys, vii, pp.6-7. For the earlier return of his household see 31st Dec., 1665, Pepys, vi, p.341. By January Pepys was back at the Royal Exchange on a regular basis.

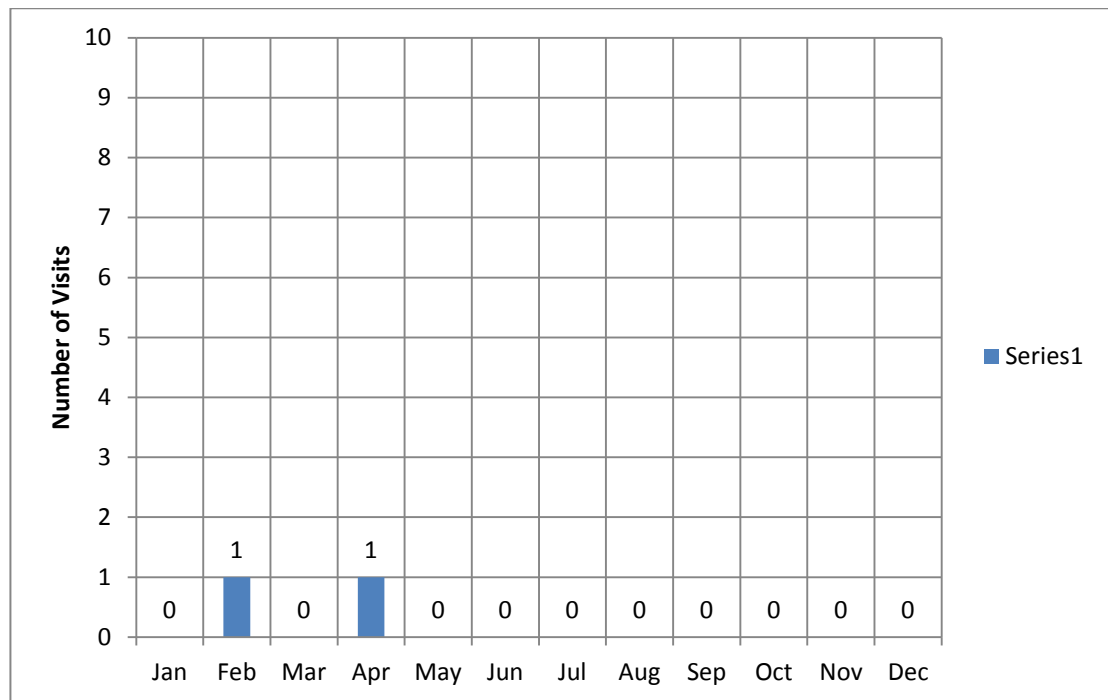


Figure 3 – Pepys' monthly coffeehouse visits in diary: 1666

Finally, the Second Anglo-Dutch War affected Pepys' professional and personal life from 1665 until at least the middle of 1668. (Hence these 'external' explanatory factors overlap: the period of military conflict containing the Plague and subsequently the Fire and its aftermath). As Clerk of the Acts at the Navy Board, Pepys was at the administrative centre of the storm; a situation that was not aided by his assumption of the duties of Treasurer for the Tangier Committee (however lucrative).⁹³ Whilst this undoubtedly increased the administrative burden placed upon Pepys, he continued to find the time to pursue many of his pleasures. He was, able to visit the theatre, for instance, on seventy-three occasions (almost matching his recorded coffeehouse visits *for the whole period*) in the first eight *months* of 1668; this at a time when Pepys's professional career was in peril, when 'the Navy Board was the bull's-eye of every committee's target', and his colleague, Sir William Penn, impeached.⁹⁴ Yet over the very same timeframe that he was indulging his love of the theatre, Pepys appears to have visited the city's coffeehouses on just three occasions.⁹⁵ (Indeed Pepys went to see one play - John Dryden's adaptation of *The Tempest* that premiered in November 1667 - more often than he went to coffeehouses in the final two years of the diary)⁹⁶. Even allowing for their impact on

⁹³ On the effect of the latter appointment see in particular 26th May 1665, Pepys, vi, p.109.

⁹⁴ Number of trips to the theatre cited in S. Porter, *Inside Pepys's London: everyday Life in London 1650-1703* (Stroud, 2011), p.103; quotation on the Navy Board in N. Rodger, *The command of the ocean: a naval history of Britain, 1649-1815* (London, 2004), p.101; see also, G. Foster, "Ignoring 'The Tempest': Pepys, Dryden, and the Politics of Spectating in 1667", *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 63:1/2, John Dryden: A Tercentenary Miscellany (2000), pp. 5-22.

⁹⁵ 30th Mar., 25th Apr., & 22nd Jun., 1668, Pepys, ix, pp.140, 175 & 248.

⁹⁶ For Pepys's attendance at *The Tempest* see Foster, "Ignoring 'The Tempest'", p.20.

Pepysian practice, plague, fire and war cannot explain Pepys's evident indifference to these establishments *before* these dates; nor can they explain his failure to alter his patterns *after* their impact had subsided (see Figure 1).

Alternatively, the solution might be discovered in the dual transformation of Pepys's personal circumstances and his access to news (or information) over these years. It is entirely appropriate in this regard that Pepys's first visit to a coffeehouse should have been in the company of the journalist, Henry Muddiman, since both seem likely to have been there in a news-gathering role: Muddiman in a professional capacity and Pepys to supply 'intelligence' to his patron Edward Mountagu.⁹⁷ (In a sense Pepys was also there in a 'professional' role if this is seen – as it should be – as one of the services that Pepys was expected to provide his patron). Hence on a subsequent visit to Miles's he notes, 'heard exceeding good argument against Mr. Harrington's assertion, that overbalance of propriety was the foundation of government. Home, and wrote to Hinchinbroke' – indicating the sort of news service he was providing his patron at this time.⁹⁸ As Pepys became better-connected over this period he came to enjoy privileged access to sensitive political information; he became a political 'insider'. This was particularly apparent during the Second Anglo-Dutch War. In early 1665, for example, Pepys records that the Secretary of State, Sir Henry Bennet, 'did give me all his letters lately come from [the Fleet] for me to read', even allowing Pepys to take this valuable intelligence away with him; Pepys noting 'which I returned in the afternoon to him'.⁹⁹ Over the course of the diary, Pepys' relationship to news (or more generically, information) was radically altered. He went from being a 'consumer' or 'gatherer' of news in the opening pages of his account, to a circulator of information, before finally becoming, at the close of the period, a news-item in his own right, the subject of news. This transformation was both completed by and captured in his last recorded coffeehouse visit in summer 1668, when Sir Phillip Howard advertised Pepys's widely-discussed performance in Parliament earlier that year.¹⁰⁰ Pepys' later disregard for (although not his earlier absence from) the coffeehouse scene then might be wholly subjective, the result of his increasing access to privileged information, thereby rendering this institution superfluous to his news-gathering practices.

⁹⁷ 9th Jan., 1660, Pepys, i, pp.12-13.

⁹⁸ 14th Jan., 1660, Pepys, i, p.17; there is no extant letter from Pepys to Sandwich for this date.

⁹⁹ 27th Mar., 1665, Pepys, vi, p.68; see also, for example, 19th Aug., 1665, Pepys, vi, p.195.

¹⁰⁰ 22nd Jun., 1668, Pepys, ix, p.248; Pepys remained an avid consumer of news at the end of the diary, and was producing news from their inception – as newsmonger, as newsletter writer and, of course, as diarist.

Yet even if these readings of the diary period are all mistaken, simply showing that there were reasons for Pepys' absences from this space would hardly support the strong claims made for coffeehouse singularity and significance. The problem would remain that this would still indicate that coffeehouses were by no means critical to the practices of someone who was obsessed by the news. Indeed this interpretative position rests on the unspoken assumption that these absences *require* explanation; that Pepys *should have been* in the coffeehouses more often than appears to be the case, when taken as a whole, the diary suggests quite the opposite: it is Pepys's *presence* – and not his absence – that needs to be explored. It is the frenzy of activity over the winter of 1663/4 that requires examination, not the remaining nine years of evident indifference.

The answer to this puzzle can best be approached by moving the discussion down a level of abstraction; for notwithstanding this quantitative shortfall, Pepys' accounts of his visits still constitute a valuable source for further examination. The most striking feature of this material is the discovery that Pepys did not go to 'the Coffeehouse', but to a number of coffeehouses in a specific geographical locale: the area surrounding the Royal Exchange. In this respect, Pepys's coffeehouse practices followed his personal and professional trajectory; from Axe Yard and the Exchequer in Westminster, to Seething Lane and the Navy Board in the City of London. In a typical entry, Pepys records, 'Up betimes to my office, and there all the morning doing business, at noon to the 'Change, and there met with several people, among others Captain Cox, and with him to a Coffee [House], and drank with him and some other merchants. Good discourse'.¹⁰¹ In terms of Pepys' practices, the often-cited references to Miles's coffeehouse in Westminster, and to the 'great coffee-house' in Covent Garden, where John Dryden held court – and which provide respectively the opening and closing references in the diaries to coffeehouses – are something of a red herring.¹⁰² In total, the diary records just five visits to coffeehouses in Covent Garden; and after his eight references to Miles's (concluding in February 1660), Pepys seems never again to have visited any such establishments near Westminster.¹⁰³ (It is worth noting as an aside, that, despite the supposed ubiquity of

¹⁰¹ 2nd Jul., 1663, (Latham suggests the merchant, George Cocke, Pepys, x, p.78); for similar entries see, 28th Mar., 1665, Pepys, vi, p.69 and 21st Dec., 1666, Pepys, vii, pp.417-8 (when Pepys was visiting the relocated Exchange in Gresham College Pepys).

¹⁰² 9th Jan., 1660, Pepys (Miles's); 22nd Jun., 1668, Pepys, ix, p.248 (Will's).

¹⁰³ The references to Miles's are 9th, 10th, 11th, 14th, 17th and 20th Jan., and 20th and 21st Feb., 1660, Pepys, i, pp.13, 14, 15, 17, 20-21, 24, 61 & 63.

coffeehouses across the whole country, Pepys does not record attending any on his numerous trips outside of London across the course of this decade).¹⁰⁴ Instead, after his first recorded visit to 'the Coffee-house in Cornhill' in December 1660, until the Fire, just under six years later, he strayed from the City coffeehouses on just two occasions; both to witness Dryden's 'literary salon' in Covent Garden (described in terms akin to an anthropological field-report).¹⁰⁵ In fact, and as noted above, after the area around the Exchange had been destroyed by Fire, Pepys recorded just three more coffeehouse visits in the remaining two and half years of the diary (see Figure 4).¹⁰⁶

From the later part of 1661 until the end of the diary, the half-mile trip from the Navy Board offices to the Royal Exchange and its environs formed an integral part of Pepys's everyday routine. 'Office all morning. At noon to the Change', becomes, for a time, as familiar a Pepysian refrain as 'and then to bed'.¹⁰⁷ The Royal Exchange also served as a convenient break on Pepys's regular 'commute' between Seething Lane, in the eastern reaches of the City of London, and his masters in Whitehall and Westminster. Thus in late 1663, Pepys notes, 'by water to St. James's, and there visited Mr. Coventry...but had no great talk with him, he being full of business. So back by foot through London, doing several errands, and at the 'Change met with Mr. Cutler, and he and I to a coffee-house'.¹⁰⁸ Pepys's main reason for these trips was the ground floor of the Exchange where London's mercantile community met to conduct business and exchange news. Pepys typically arrived late in the morning when the Exchange was fullest and business activity greatest; either travelling alone or with colleagues from the Navy Board or Tangier Committee; and in order to conduct business on their (and often his

¹⁰⁴ See Cowan's comments – pace Macaulay – on the metropolitan nature of coffeehouse culture, *SLC*, pp.154-6.

¹⁰⁵ Pepys helpfully commenting on his first trip to a City coffeehouse, 'the first time that ever I was there', 10th Dec., 1660, Pepys, I, p.315; visits to Covent Garden, 3rd Feb., & 14th Apr., 1664, Pepys, v, pp.37 & 123.

¹⁰⁶ On the 30th Mar., 25th Apr., & 22nd Jun., 1668, Pepys, ix, p.248.

¹⁰⁷ The first of many such reference appears to be 8th Feb., 1661, Pepys; other similar formulations, 17th Mar., 1662, 20th Mar., 1662, 23rd Jun., 1662, 1st Aug., 1662, 15th Aug., 1662, 16th Sep., 1662, 17th Sep., 1662, 27th Dec., 1662, Pepys, iii, pp.47, 48, 118, 152, 165, 199 [2] & 295 ; appropriately, see below, on the first of these, Pepys was meeting the timber merchant [check], Sir William Warren.

¹⁰⁸ 2nd Oct., 1663, Pepys, iv, p.322; see also, Also, 2nd Nov., 1663, 30th Nov., 1663, Pepys, iv, pp.361 & 401; 11th Jan., 1664, 18th Jan., 1664, 1st Feb., 1664, 24th Feb., 1664, 29th Feb., 1664, 4th Mar., 1664, 11th Mar., 1664, 8th Aug., 1664, 15th Aug., 1664, 19th Sep., 1664, 10th Oct., 1664, 28th Nov., 1664, 15th Dec., 1664, Pepys, v, pp.12, 18-19, 34, 63, 71, 76, 80, 235-6, 242, 274, 293, 332 & 346, 4th Jan., 1665, Pepys, vi, p.4, 16th Feb., & 2nd Apr., 1666, Pepys, vii, pp.45-6 & 88-9.

own) behalf.¹⁰⁹ The coffeehouses in this vicinity provided a valuable source of expert knowledge for Pepys. In February 1664 he notes 'and I to the Coffee-house, and thence to the 'Change, my chief business being to enquire about the manner of other countries keeping of their masts wet or dry, and got good advice about it, and so home'.¹¹⁰ It was normally after (although, unusually, in this case before) such trips to the Exchange that Pepys visited the adjoining coffeehouses. In a representative entry Pepys simply notes, 'to the 'Change; and there did much business and at the Coffee-house'.¹¹¹ As Cowan comments, the coffeehouses that had proliferated around the Change operated as an extension to the bourse; 'the functional equivalent of office space for early modern businessmen and professionals'.¹¹²

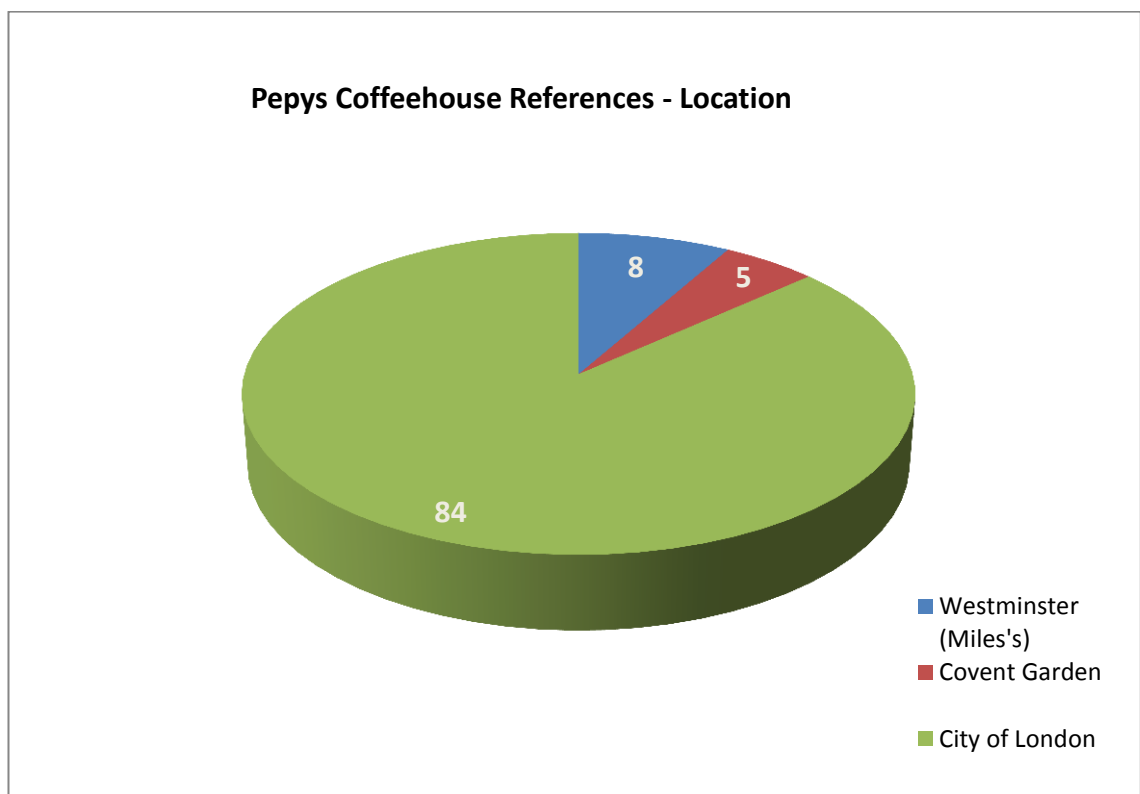


Figure 4 – Geographical distribution of Pepys' coffeehouse visits

The location of these visits also shaped the social and professional composition of those whom he encountered there. For Pepys, the coffeehouse, and London more generally, was *not* an

¹⁰⁹ "The Royal Exchange", Pepys, x, p.358; Pepys arrived late and missed the action on the floor of the Royal Exchange on 10th Apr., 1669, Pepys, ix, p.514; for the rhythm of activity on the Exchange see also 14th Dec., 1665, Pepys, vi, p.329.

¹¹⁰ 22nd Feb., 1664, Pepys, v, p.55.

¹¹¹ 2nd Apr., 1666, Pepys, vii, pp.88-9.

¹¹² Cowan, *SLC*, p.157.

anonymous space, although exceptional entries that might be read to suggest so certainly exist.¹¹³ In December 1660 for instance, Pepys 'light[ed] upon very good company and had very good discourse concerning insects'.¹¹⁴ Yet even this is ambiguous, for Pepys may simply have failed to record the names of those present, considering them unimportant. Far more often however, the coffeehouse provided a location for Pepys to interact with other members of the various and sometimes overlapping networks that structured his social life: that is with people that he already knew, or at least knew of (and wanted to know better). These certainly included the *virtuosi*, members of the new Royal Society that Brian Cowan has identified as critical to both the 'domestication' of coffee and coffeehouse practices.¹¹⁵ Conversations or meetings with John Graunt, the pioneer of statistics, on seven occasions, and the polymath, William Petty (four references; including once before the Restoration) are duly recorded, as is a single meeting with the Society's first Secretary, Sir Henry Oldenburg. Association with these figures clearly appealed to Pepys' well-developed intellectual curiosity; as well as his even better-developed aptitude for social advancement. But more important still, if less visible in most accounts, are Pepys's colleagues, suppliers and neighbours: people like his colleagues at the Navy Office, Colonel Robert Slingsby (on five occasions; despite his death as early as 1661) and Sir William Batten (3); John Creed, his friend and rival in Sandwich's household, but equally importantly, Secretary of the Tangier Committee (8); the merchants and navy contractors, Sir William Warren (6) and Captain George Cocke (3); as well as Pepys's father, John (1), and his Uncle, the merchant William Wight (3).

Rather than seeing these various groups as wholly distinct from the *virtuosi*, it is more helpful to see the fields of government (local and central), administration, commerce and 'science' as lacking the clear demarcation of the modern (or pace Pincus, 'Modern') era (although that distinction is perhaps better thought of as an aspiration rather than a reality).¹¹⁶ It is critical to note that the eclectic (and at times eccentric) research programme of this group encompassed areas that were within Pepys's professional competence. Pepys' coffeehouse discussions with these figures included such topics as the treatment of masts and ship design; areas that might equally be designated as maritime.¹¹⁷ On the 11th November 1663, for example, Pepys had

¹¹³ For London more generally see I. Archer, "Social Networks in Restoration London: the evidence of Samuel Pepys's diary", in A. Shepard & P. Withington (ed.), *Communities in early modern England* (Manchester, 2000), p.81 & *passim*.

¹¹⁴ 14th Dec., 1660, Pepys, i, p.318.

¹¹⁵ Cowan, *SLC*, Ch.4 [for *virtuosi*], & esp., pp.106-8.

¹¹⁶ The term *virtuoso/i* avoids the anachronism of 'scientist'. The topic of 'differentiation' between state and society is one of the main themes of the vast body of material on 'state-building'; for this period see M. Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England, c.1550-1700* (Cambridge, 2000).

¹¹⁷ 31st Jul., 1663, Pepys, iv, p.256; see entries for 6th and 11th Nov., 1663, Pepys, iv, pp.365 & 378 for a similar overlap of interests.

‘some good discourse’ with, Dr Thomas Allen [Physician, Interregnum Fellow of Caius, later physician at Bedlam/Bethlehem College] ‘about physic and Chymistry’; good virtuosi topics. But, as so often, Pepys was able to move the discussion on to a topic closer to his own and the Navy’s interests, noting, ‘among other things, I telling him what Dribble the German Doctor [i.e. the Dutchman, Cornelis van Drebbel] do offer, of an Instrument to sink ships’.¹¹⁸ On occasion this might lead to ‘turf wars’, as when Pepys took his protégé and ‘client’, the future ship designer, Anthony Deane to the coffeehouse, ‘where he was very earnest against Mr. Grant’s report in favour of Sir W. Petty’s vessel, even to some passion on both sides almost’.¹¹⁹ But, despite occasional attempts to enforce rigid boundaries, it is perhaps more enlightening to position both sets of interests – the ‘scientific’ and the naval (or better still, maritime) – at a nexus of concerns about natural philosophy, commerce (or ‘political economy’), and naval power that concerned governors, administrators, merchants and the virtuosi alike. The perfect personification of this ‘amphibious’ phenomenon, if admittedly in a rather extreme form, is Sir Richard Ford; an Alderman, merchant, contractor to the Navy, member of the Council of Trade, M.P., and F.R.S; a type Pepys memorably termed, ‘these great dealers at everything’.¹²⁰ Similarly, William, Lord Brouncker, the first President of the Royal Society and a noted mathematician, became a (for the most part) respected colleague on the Navy Board in 1664; and Pepys himself later served as Society President.¹²¹ Steve Pincus has insisted on the specifically *bourgeois* content of coffeehouse discourse and by extension the Restoration public sphere.¹²² Pepys’s commentary indicates that this characterization holds in another respect too, though here contra Pincus: that is, in terms of the social composition and *exclusivity* of Pepys’s coffeehouse public.¹²³

¹¹⁸ 11th Nov., 1663, Pepys, iv, p.378.

¹¹⁹ 5th Aug., 1663, Pepys, iv, p.263 [ship design]; 13th Jan., & 22nd Feb., 1664, Pepys, v, pp.14-15 & 55 [treatment and preservation of masts]. Deane reiterated his complaints to Pepys in private on 29th Jan., 1664, Pepys, v, pp.29-30; the day after his superior, Commissioner Pett, had made similar comments.

¹²⁰ For Ford see Pepys, x, p.149; the term was used in reference to Sir Martin Noel, 8th Oct., 1665, Pepys, vii, p.258.

¹²¹ This respect appears to have been mutual. Pepys was later an executor of Brouncker’s will, Tomalin, *Pepys*, p.340.

¹²² The use of the now largely antiquarian term ‘political economy’ is a way of suggesting a break with the early Stuart period when such discussions are typically described as ‘economic’, ‘commercial’ or ‘political’; Pincus, “Coffee”.

¹²³ S. Pincus, “The State and Civil Society in Early Modern England” in Lake & Pincus, *PPS*.

Pepys also provides a glimpse inside the Restoration coffeehouse (although not, it should be added, of their internal architecture or physical layout).¹²⁴ Occasionally, like Westminster Hall on the other side of town, it was a site for loitering; a place to kill time between appointments in different parts of the metropolis. In October 1663, Pepys recorded, 'not knowing how to spend our time till noon, Sir W. Batten and I took coach, and to the Coffee-house in Cornhill; where much talk about the Turk's proceedings, and that the plague is got to Amsterdam'.¹²⁵ Typically, however, Pepys's visits were more purposive in nature; in pursuit of business or pleasure. Perhaps as a consequence, Pepys almost never records acts of solitary reading; whether of the printed newspapers or polemical pamphlets, despite the centrality of these activities in recent representations of the Restoration coffeehouse. This cannot be explained by any lack of interest in such material on Pepys's part. He recorded in his diary the publication of the first issues of *The Kingdome's Intelligencer* and *The Oxford Gazette* (correctly identifying their editors as L'Estrange and Williamson), and retained an almost full run of each in his library; possibly bought as a collection later, but more likely purchased at the time and subsequently bound-up.¹²⁶ Aside from perusing a family will and Sir William Petty's letters on yacht designs, the only explicit reference to reading is to Sir Balthazar Gerbier's *Counsell to Builders* - a book Pepys deemed 'not worth a turd'; and later put to who knows what use.¹²⁷ There are ambiguous comments that may indicate Pepys reading *The Gazette* or other textual materials. And it is certainly possible such material was read aloud as part of an oral conversation; though if this was the case, Pepys failed to remark upon it.¹²⁸ But even if these entries are proof of the use – rather than simply presence – of textual materials in the coffeehouse, it remains clear that the dominant form of communicative exchange recorded in these entries was oral, reflecting the *social* and *sociable* nature of many of Pepys's coffeehouse practices. Hence in addition to numerous references to 'talking', Pepys records, 'admirable discourse', 'very good discourse', 'a little merry discourse' and 'discourse...that was

¹²⁴ I would like to thank Mr 'Spike' Sweeting for raising the issue of Pepys' architectural gaze (or lack thereof).

¹²⁵ 19th Oct., 1663, Pepys, iv, p.340.

¹²⁶ On the first issue of *The Kingdome's Intelligencer*, Pepys noted, 'abroad by water to White Hall and Westminster Hall, and there bought the first newes-books of L'Estrange's writing; he beginning this week; and makes, methinks, but a simple beginning', 4th Sep., 1663, Pepys, iv, p.297. By contrast Pepys notes, 'This day the first of the Oxford Gazettes come out, which is very pretty, full of newes, and no folly in it. Wrote by Williamson' 22nd Nov., 1665, Pepys, vi, p.305. On Pepys retention of various newspapers from this period see Pepys, iv, p.297, n.2 and Latham, *Catalogue*, pp.96, 114, 121 & 128, see also M. Mendle, "Preserving the Ephemeral: Reading, Collecting and the Pamphlet Culture of Seventeenth-Century England" in Andersen, J. & Sauer, E. (ed.), *Books and Readers in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia, 2002).

¹²⁷ The will, 10th Aug 1661, Pepys, ii, p.151; reading Gerbier 28th May 1663, Pepys, iv, p.162; Petty's letters, 31st Jul 1663, Pepys, iv, p.256.

¹²⁸ I discuss the question of possible omissions below.

well worth hearing'.¹²⁹ Sir William Petty earned Pepys's highest praise as, 'in discourse...one of the most rational men that ever I heard speak with a tongue'.¹³⁰ These exchanges were undoubtedly part of communicative circuits that involved textual elements, but on Pepys' evidence, the coffeehouse was a place of face-to-face communication.

These encounters - at least in the post-Rota period - were neither *formally* organized occasions nor concerned with political *debate* (as opposed to the circulation of news). In quantitative terms the majority of these encounters were primarily to conduct business; either to make legal contracts or to maintain professional contacts. City coffeehouses then already provided convenient locations to complete business initiated on the Exchange by this point; a feature of the City of London that has been more widely discussed in the period after the Glorious Revolution (often characterized as the Financial Revolution). In an example of such practices that reverses the normal order of things, i.e. the Exchange followed by a coffeehouse, the diary entry for the 24th February 1664 records, 'by water to the Coffee-house, and there sat with Alderman Barker talking of hempe and the trade, and thence to the 'Change a little'.¹³¹ (Pepys on this occasion seems to have missed the morning session on the Exchange, hence the back-to-front routine). Pepys also conducted business that straddled (or perhaps muddled) the clear normative distinction between 'public' and 'private'. In February 1665, he noted, 'to my office, where till noon and then to the 'Change, and at the Coffee-house with Gifford, Hubland [i.e. Houblon, probably James], the Master of the ship, and I read over and approved a charter-party for carrying goods for Tangier'; before adding characteristically, 'wherein I hope to get some money'.¹³² Here, as noted above, the coffeehouse provided a convenient and sufficiently private alternative to the open floor of the Exchange and the residences of the parties involved; a place where contracts might more easily be written up, read over and signed.

If Pepys' primary purpose for visiting coffeehouses was to conduct business, they were certainly also a location where he expected to discover and exchange information. The entry for 14th November 1664, for instance, states simply, 'and then homeward to the Coffee-house

¹²⁹ 'admirable', 10th Jan 1660, Pepys, I, p.14; 'very good', 14th Dec 1660, Pepys, I, p.318.; 'a little merry', 10th Feb 1664, Pepys, V, p.44; 'well worth hearing', 23rd Jan 1663, Pepys, IV, p.22; talk, 30th May 1661, Pepys, II, p.111, 19th Aug 1663, Pepys, IV, p.281, 25th Aug 1663, Pepys, IV, p.287, 19th Oct 1663, Pepys, IV, p.340, 1st Jan 1664, Pepys, V, p.1.

¹³⁰ 27th Jan 1664, Pepys, I, p.27.

¹³¹ 24th Feb., 1664, Pepys, V, p.63.

¹³² 2nd Feb., 1665, Pepys, VI, p.28.

to hear newes'; and even exceptions, such as his visit on the 25th July 1664, appearing to prove the rule, 'back again homewards, and Sir W. Batten and I to the Coffee-house, but no newes, only the plague is very hot still, and encreases among the Dutch'.¹³³ Unfortunately for the historian, many of Pepys' comments are equally brief, offering little beyond the bare minimum of time, location, and perhaps participants; or, worse still, a tantalizing, 'and there sat a great while talking of many things'; politics, religion, insect procreation?¹³⁴ On the basis of the more expansive entries, coffeehouse discourse appears to have covered a variety of topics, ranging from what might now seem ephemeral to the most weighty 'matters of state'; but all of which, from the fact that Pepys chose to record them, were of interest to him personally, and, presumably, to some of his interlocutors. News from the west end of London was, if we are to trust Pepys's recollection, rare. In January 1664, the 'dramatist, theatrical manager, rake and wit', Thomas Killigrew informed his auditors of a recent fire at the royal mistress, Lady Castlemaine's lodgings, but this was the exception that, by its splendid isolation, proves the rule.¹³⁵ Less surprisingly, discourse frequently touched upon matters close to the hearts of what was predominantly a City audience: the lives of 'several excellent examples of men raised upon the 'Change by their great diligence and saving'; the marriage prospects of the recently-deceased merchant, Sir Nicholas Gold's 'young and handsome' (and wealthy) widow to an interloping 'courtier'; and the sensational trial and execution of 'Colonel' Turner for the burglary and murder of another City merchant, 'Mr Tryon' [Francis Tryan] – Pepys commenting, 'all desirous of his being hanged'.¹³⁶

The prevalence of the topics outlined above should come as no surprise given Pepys' professional interests, the composition of this City of London coffeehouse public, and the diplomatic narrative of this period. What is remarkable however (and discussed further below), is the absence of what might – with all the usual caveats – be termed the conjoined categories of 'politics' and 'religion' (or perhaps better, 'Politics' and 'Religion'); a veritable early modern 'beast with two backs'. Neither domestic politics – at least in the sense of the activities of central government – nor religious policy feature in Pepys' coffeehouse diary entries; despite the salience of toleration (and persecution) in both local and national politics and public discourse. The diaries cover a period encompassing the introduction of the Clarendon Code, the Fire of London and the disastrous conclusion to the Second Anglo-Dutch

¹³³ 14th Nov., & 25th Jul., 1664, Pepys, v, pp.321 & 220.

¹³⁴ 30th May 1661, Pepys, ii, p.111; see also, 'Thence to the Coffee-house and 'Change, and so home to dinner', 21st Oct., 1664, Pepys, v, p.302.

¹³⁵ 26th Jan., 1664, Pepys, v, pp.26-7; Latham's characterization of Killigrew in Pepys, x, p.213.

¹³⁶ 19th Feb., 1664, Pepys, v, p.52 [City lives]; 1st Jan., 1664, Pepys, v, p.1 [merry widow]; 18th & 21st Jan., 1664, Pepys, v, pp.18-19 & 23-4, [crime and punishment], quote 18th, p.19.

War: all events that generated political polemic and discontent and are recorded and interpreted in Pepys's diary, but leave little trace in Pepys' coffeehouse encounters.¹³⁷ The absence of open political commentary or critique perhaps explains another absence in Pepys' record: acts of violence. What Cowan describes as the 'all too frequent brawls and bravado declamations which characterised coffeehouse society in the late seventeenth century' – certainly the dominant visual image of the coffeehouse in recent historiography – either did not occur when Pepys was present or, inexplicably, went unrecorded; the former seeming the more plausible explanation.¹³⁸ Moreover, this absence of commentary let alone political critique serves as a reminder of just how remarkable Pepys' early coffeehouse visits to the Rota Club were. In the diary these stand apart from everything that follows; both in terms of their level of formal organization and their explicit interrogation of political first principles. On one level then Pepys's practice appears to have fallen short of recent historiographical representation, although this may have been a misunderstanding of the purpose of the coffeehouse on his part. In another sense, however, Pepys's coffeehouse discourse appears to confirm Pincus's argument regarding the importance of 'political economy' (if not its novelty), and not the recent insistence that 'religion' was the decisive factor in the 'politics' of this period.¹³⁹ Of course, this conclusion depends upon the soundness of the preliminary premise that coffeehouse discourse is representative of public discourse on politics (and religion) in general, rather than of the particular interests of those present.

Pepys' Representational Practices

Thus far I have treated Pepys's practices in an essentially positivist manner, as if they were not subject to mediation by the diarist, Samuel Pepys. Simply to alert this methodology immediately raises important questions regarding the accuracy of Pepys's account. The most radically subversive position to the argument presented above is that Pepys systematically misrepresented his practices in his diary.¹⁴⁰ As discussed in the Introduction, Pepys' journal is neither a transparent nor complete account of his 'lived experience'; the diary as stream-of-

¹³⁷ In fact the entirety of Pepys's reports of his coffeehouse conversations, there is only one comment on religion, an anodyne if slighting reference to, 'some simple discourse about some Quakers that were charmed by a string about their wrists, and so home', 31st Dec., 1663, Pepys, iv, p.438. Pepys mentions the discovery of what would be known as the Northern Rising on the 23rd Jan., 1663, Pepys, iv, pp.22-3 but there are no other direct references to *domestic* 'high politics'.

¹³⁸ Cowan, "Publicity and Privacy", p.1187.

¹³⁹ Pincus, *P&P*, esp. Part III.

¹⁴⁰ Pepys's has rarely, to my knowledge, been caught out deliberately misrepresenting facts of this nature. There is no obvious reason to think that he should have done so in this particular case.

consciousness rather than consciously-constructed narrative.¹⁴¹ Instead it was, to use Pepys's own term, a 'perfected' account of everyday life, and subject to the normal authorial (and editorial) practices of selection, omission and promotion that all such accounts must necessarily make. It is thus perfectly possible, indeed I would venture probable, that Pepys visited coffeehouses on more occasions than he chose to record; a fact gestured to in the preceding comments by the usage of such qualifications as Pepys' coffeehouse 'citations', 'references' and so on.¹⁴² This would in turn undermine the completeness (and therefore validity) of the data-set on which the preceding quantitative judgments of Pepys's practices were based. The degree of under-representation is ultimately impossible to assess with any certainty. Nevertheless, when Pepys explicitly indicates in his text that it has been some time since his last visit this invariably corresponds to a significant gap in his record, giving added confidence to his overall accuracy.¹⁴³ On this basis, the lack of references to coffeehouse visits recorded in the diary after spring of 1665 seems to be an accurate representation of a discontinued practice; whilst the absence after 1666 clearly corresponds to a transformation in the material fabric of Pepys' London. Arguing from an absence of evidence is anyway notoriously problematic. The disruptive interpretation would be that visiting the coffeehouse became so commonplace an occurrence - so integral to his daily routine - that Pepys ultimately ceased to record the fact *on a regular basis*; a salutary reminder that the diarist can be an unreliable narrator of his own life.¹⁴⁴ This would suggest that Pepys' silence is not even the exception that proves the rule, but, instead, the rule itself; an indication of the centrality of the coffeehouse to Pepys' communicative practices. Whilst this position seems possible (if not, at least to this author, especially plausible), it is less damaging to the thrust of argument presented here than might at first seem the case. Pepys was scrupulous in connecting news, or more generically information, to times, locations and interlocutors, i.e. the exchange of news as social event; one of the reasons that he remains such a valuable source for historians. The fact that such exchanges so rarely take place in coffeehouses *in the diary* would logically seem to suggest that either they did not in fact take place or that Pepys did not deem them of sufficient significance to record: to put it bluntly if it's not in there it didn't matter to Pepys, ergo for Pepys coffeehouses did not matter. Either way, the strong claims for coffeehouse

¹⁴¹ For Pepys's 'perfecting' his diary, see 10th Aug., 1662, Pepys, iii, p.162. Nor was the diary an immediate impression, given the occasions when Pepys filled several days entries in one sitting, e.g. 10th Nov., 1665, Pepys, vi, p.295 (see also, 23rd Sep., 1663, Pepys, iv, p.316, 16th Oct., 23rd Nov., & 22nd Dec., 1665, Pepys, vi, pp.270, 307 & 337).

¹⁴² I would express my appreciation to Professor Tim Harris for comments on this point.

¹⁴³ For example on the entry for 'Thence to the Coffee-house with Creed, where I have not been a great while', 24th May 1665, Pepys, vi, p.108, corresponds to a two month gap in recorded trips in the Diary; see also 16th Feb., 1666, Pepys, vii, p.45.

¹⁴⁴ I recognize but discount the possibility that Pepys deliberately fabricated his visits, e.g. inventing his relationship with Petty.

singularity cannot be sustained on the basis of Pepys' represented practice (or representational practices).

Having sifted Pepys's coffeehouse practices at some length, I now want to turn to the place of the coffeehouse in early Restoration discourse; that is as a representation. The coffeehouse, its proponents would have us believe, was ubiquitous not just as an institution, but also as a shorthand signifier for a particular mode of public discourse on politics and a novel form of sociability. Whilst Pepys himself, for whatever reason, did not frequent coffeehouses as much as might be expected, as a keen observer of the mores of his contemporaries he could hardly have failed to notice and record the wider impact – social, cultural and political - of this at once novel yet critical venue. In fact, *explicit* references of this kind are remarkably rare in Pepys' narrative. On the 16th January 1663, almost six months after the controversial ejection of non-conforming ministers, Pepys recorded a conversation that took place in his lodgings: 'Up, and Mr. Battersby, the apothecary, coming to see me...who tells me how highly the Presbyters do talk in the coffeehouses still'.¹⁴⁵ More strikingly, four years later Sir William Coventry informed Pepys that he had heard, 'that my Lord Chancellor [the Earl of Clarendon], my Lord Arlington, the Vice Chamberlain [Sir George Carteret, courtier and Treasurer of the Navy] and himself [i.e. Coventry] are reported all up and down the Coffee houses to be the four sacrifices that must be made to atone the people'.¹⁴⁶ In each case – and in the second particularly so - the coffeehouse clearly stands in for what we would term 'public opinion' at moments of heightened political tension; in the first instance in the sense of a particular group, the Presbyterians (and perhaps non-conformists more generally), and in the second as a unitary political subject. Taken in isolation, these two entries would appear to provide *prima facie* evidence for Pincus's and Cowan's claims for the exemplarity of the coffeehouse within the field of public discourse. Yet these two examples – in an account that spans nine-and-a-half years of vigorously-lived and thickly-described experience - constitute the *entire* use of the coffeehouse as metonym for public discourse by Pepys. Rather than assuming the importance of the coffeehouse as a trope, it would perhaps be better to listen to contemporaries' own terms for public discourse. Pepys' preferred formulations for this phenomenon are more generic yet still telling. He records, 'The towne, I hear, is full of talk', 'I hear everywhere how the towne talks', and, 'the great talk is'; in a gendered form, that 'all men conceive' and, 'all the town, and every boy in the streete, openly cries'; or, most expansively of all, at least

¹⁴⁵ 16th January 1663, Pepys, iv, p.15.

¹⁴⁶ 29th June 1667, Pepys, viii, p.304.

figuratively-speaking, to 'and so all the world saying', and 'the judgment of the world'.¹⁴⁷ Such nebulous formulations are not, of course, to be read as literally accurate descriptions (nor were they meant to be taken as so by Pepys; 'the world' often turns out to be a great deal more circumscribed than the world, telling us more about the audience that matters to the diarist). They do not exclude the possibility that Pepys envisaged coffeehouse conversations as forming part of this collective but more diffuse discourse; indeed it seems likely he did. (Although, see below, whilst diffuse, Pepys' notion of public discourse was nonetheless bounded: the repeated invocation of 'towne' suggesting a distinctly metropolitan character to this imagined discursive community). But more importantly here, they do not provide support for the recent privileging of the Restoration coffeehouse at the expense of other sites of discursive production.

Pepys' failure to describe public discourse in the prescribed manner was matched by his inattention to the cultural fantasies over coffee and the coffeehouse that supposedly engulfed Restoration society, and the polemical material that they gave rise to. Certainly, given his own practices, it is perhaps as well that Pepys did not read the following, and entirely typical, contemporary comment in one such pamphlet: 'For if you set Short-hand-writers to take down the Discourse of the Company, who prattle over Coffee, it will be evident on reading the Notes that the talk is extravagant and exactly like that of the Academicians of Bedlam'.¹⁴⁸ (Nor, having read Pepys's coffeehouse entries, would this reader necessarily disagree with that assessment). Both Pincus and Cowan have identified the ideological stakes in conflicting representations of the Restoration coffeehouse. Concerns over social order and sedition, and comedy at the conceits of the coffeehouse wits were countered by claims for the medicinal and educational benefits of coffee and coffeehouses respectively.¹⁴⁹ Pepys does gloss one source that Pincus cites as evidence for coffeehouse *practices*: Thomas St. Serfe's play, *Tarugo's Wiles*, also known as *The Coffee-House*.¹⁵⁰ On the 15th October 1667, Pepys noted in his diary, 'thence my wife and I and Willet [Elizabeth's companion; Pepys's latest object of desire] to the Duke of York's [theatre]...and there saw "The Coffee-house".' Pepys was unimpressed: despite his often-criticized aesthetic judgement, he was on this occasion his

¹⁴⁷ 'the town', 14th Oct., 1665, Pepys, vi, p.265, 'everywhere', 7th Jan., 1666, Pepys, vii, p.6, 'great talk', 7th Apr., 1662, Pepys, iii, p.61; 'all men', 30th Jun., 1665, Pepys, vi, p.143, 'every boy', 9th Jan., 1666, Pepys, vii, p.8, 'world', 19th Oct., 1663, Pepys, iv, p.340.

¹⁴⁸ *Character of Coffee*, (1661), p.3.

¹⁴⁹ Pincus, "Coffee"; Cowan, *SLC*, Chapters 5, 7 & 8.

¹⁵⁰ T. St. Serfe, *Tarugo's Wiles: or, The Coffee-House, a Comedy* (London, 1668).

critical response was beyond reproach, deeming it ‘the most ridiculous, insipid play that ever I saw in my life’.¹⁵¹

Despite its supposed ubiquity, this corpus of coffeehouse polemic, of both the ‘promotional’ and scaremongering kind, leaves no trace in Pepys’ diary. Notwithstanding his rampant bibliophilia, Pepys neither records reading any of the overtly polemical material on coffeehouses cited by Pincus, nor retained any in his assiduously-fashioned library later bequeathed to his alma mater.¹⁵² This shortcoming cannot be explained away by any lack of interest in controversial material: Pepys, like many of his contemporaries, avidly sought out such work, and frequently recorded doing so in his journal. Similarly his library included an extensive collection of polemical material, ranging across the ideological spectrum from Martin Marprelate to Sir Roger L’Estrange via Robert Persons (if those remarkable figures could possibly be represented on a single spectrum). During the diary period Pepys read – and retained – both Marvell’s satires on the government and Dryden’s equally political response, *Annus Mirabilis*; as well as the less canonical exchange between the Earl of Castlemaine and the future bishop, William Lloyd (see Chapter 3). Again this is not conclusive proof that Pepys did not read this material, but if he did he found it worthy of neither comment nor retention. To note this absence in Pepys’ text and library is not to deny such material existed, or that the coffeehouse was an object of fear and derision to *some* of Pepys’ contemporaries. Instead it is a call to move beyond the evidence of *production* of such representations to indications of their *circulation*, *reception* and *appropriation* that an account like Pepys’ is so well-placed to provide. It is to point out that pervasive political-cultural anxiety over coffeehouses, like coffeehouses themselves, could easily be missed by even one of the best informed of contemporaries; or, alternatively, has been exaggerated in recent histories.

Having briefly examined Pepys’s reception of contemporary polemical representations of the coffeehouse, I want to comment finally on Pepys’s own representation of the coffeehouse. It is perhaps unsurprising (given his apparent lack of familiarity with the contemporary coffeehouse polemic) that in the diary Pepys’ representation of this institution steers between

¹⁵¹ Although as Luckett notes, ‘Neither as playgoer nor as reader of plays was Pepys an easy man to please’, Pepys, x, p.337; visit to theatre on 15th Oct., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.481; for criticisms of Pepys’s taste see Pepys, x, p.38; Winn however describes him as ‘an acute critic indeed’ in his comments on Dryden’s rhyme in *The Indian Queen*, A. Winn, *John Dryden and his World* (New Haven, 1987), p.149.

¹⁵² Those published in the diary period include *A Character of Coffee* (1661), *The Coffeehouse scuffle* (1662), *The Maiden’s Complaint against –* (1663), *A Cup of Coffee* (1663), *The Character of a Coffeehouse* (1665); Pepys did not retain a copy of St. Serfe’s play.

the ‘penny-university’ and ‘hotbed of sedition’ extremes. The incidents of violence that the coffeehouse’s critics, past and present, have pointed to, for instance, are wholly absent from Pepys’s record. The argument between Deane and Petty, the professional and amateur shipwright (cited above), where the protagonists came, ‘even to some passion on both sides almost’, is the closest to actual – rather than suppressed – violence that Pepys’ account of the coffeehouse gets.¹⁵³ And whilst it is certainly possible, even tempting, to read some of Pepys’ comments on this space as a compelling vindication of those contemporaries who ridiculed the entire virtuosi project, to do so would be to miss the wider Pepysian point. Instead, he appears to have found the coffeehouse a *mundane* location; a site of quotidian practices, devoid of the exoticism – though not always the excitement – that Cowan has insisted had to be transcended before it could gain institutional acceptance in early modern England. Coffee, as consumer product, is barely mentioned at all, although Pepys does on one occasion record drinking ‘jocolatte’ with his fellow commissioner, Peter Pett (judging it ‘very good’).¹⁵⁴ Of course this casual attitude towards this institution and its practices and discourses might reflect Pepys’s participation in the very circles that Cowan identifies as the coffeehouses strongest proponents: the virtuosi – a sign he had ‘bought in’, was an early modern ‘early adopter’. But it might equally suggest that the pervasive cultural anxieties (along with the utopian fantasies) that have been so closely associated with the Restoration coffeehouse were more marginal than has recently been claimed: the preserve of ideologues (and opportunists), only gaining wider partisan support at moments of political crisis; and had little bearing on either contemporary practice or self-understanding. Indeed viewed as a whole (but, once again, excluding Miles’s), Pepys’ representation of this space and its practices and participants is remarkably bourgeois, even, one might say, *Habermasian*; a microcosmic ‘polite and commercial people’ *avant la lettre*.

In fact it is perhaps Pepys’ *silences* here that are most instructive; for as mentioned above, in the context of the diary in general, Pepys’s coffeehouse comments do not provide a ‘total’ description but rather an edited narrative of his activities there. This methodological difficulty here is obvious (i.e. the argument from silence again), but can perhaps be illustrated by reference to a particular diary entry: Pepys’s apparently contradictory account of his final recorded visit to a coffeehouse. Here Pepys writes, ‘to the Coffee-house in Covent Garden; but *met with nobody* but Sir Philip Howard, who shamed me *before the whole house* there, in

¹⁵³ 5th Aug., 1663, Pepys, iv, pp.262-3.

¹⁵⁴ 24th Nov., 1664, Pepys, v, p.329.

commendation of my speech in Parliament.¹⁵⁵ ‘Nobody’ here clearly does not mean there were *no* people there, but, rather, that there was *nobody*, Sir Philip Howard aside, that Pepys deemed worth mentioning in his diary (quite literally, to Pepys they were ‘nobodies’). Such ‘exclusions’ from the Pepysian script appear to extend to whole categories of his contemporaries. Thus with one possible exception, and this on a rare trip to a coffeehouse in Covent Garden, Pepys never mentions the presence of women, confirming Cowan’s contention that the coffeehouse was a masculine space.¹⁵⁶ As Cowan notes, this does not mean Pepys did not encounter women on his visits to coffeehouses – whether as owners, employees or fellow customers – but rather that he did not deem their presence worth commenting upon, suggesting that their degree of participation was, at best, less than equal. (Given Pepys’ notoriously amorous gaze, it might even be safe to assume that, at least in the coffeehouses that he frequented, this textual absence mirrored a real absence). In this respect the Pepysian coffeehouse is quite different from the Restoration theatre, another site for the exchange of information (as well as play-watching), where Pepys was frequently accompanied by Elizabeth and other women.¹⁵⁷

Pepys, like Cowan, is similarly silent on the presence of members of socially-subaltern groups.¹⁵⁸ Again this may reflect his prejudices, but taken in conjunction with those that he does identify, it suggests that the coffeehouse was not the site for promiscuous social interaction that Pincus claims; and as hostile contemporary polemic asserted.¹⁵⁹ That Pepys should have averted his eyes (or at least his pen; or rather quill) from those ‘beneath’ him, whether in gender or social terms, should come as no surprise given the hierarchical and status-conscious nature of Restoration society. More intriguingly, since it cannot be explained in this way, is the absence of ‘courtiers’ (a term Pepys used frequently) from this representation (a fact alluded to above with regard to Henry Killigrew). In February 1664 Pepys was moved to comment in his diary, ‘and so at noon to the ‘Change, where I met Mr. Coventry,

¹⁵⁵ 22nd Jun., 1668, Pepys, ix, p.248; emphasis added; see also, ‘Thence walked with Creed to the Coffee-house in Covent Garden, where no company’, 14th Apr., 1664, Pepys, v, p.123. It is interesting that in both these examples Pepys was in the foreign territory of Covent Garden, rather than in his familiar City coffeehouses.

¹⁵⁶ The entry reads, ‘and then out with my wife and Deb. and W. Hewer by coach to Covent-garden Coffee-house, where by appointment I was to meet Harris [the actor]; which I did, and also Mr. Cooper, the great painter’, 30th Mar., 1668, Pepys, ix, p.139. It is unclear whether the two women accompanied Pepys into the coffeehouse.

¹⁵⁷ For a survey of Pepys trips to the theatre see “Theatre”, Pepys, x; for a recent discussion of the Restoration theatre as site for public discourse on politics see W. Bulman, “Publicity and Popery on the Restoration Stage: Elkanah Settle’s *The Empress of Morocco* in Context”, *The Journal of British Studies*, 51:2 (Apr., 2012), pp.308 – 339.

¹⁵⁸ Here Cowan follows the characteristic aversion to the ‘C’ word (‘Class’ that is) amongst post-revisionist historians, preferring the more modish issue of gender.

¹⁵⁹ Pincus, “Coffee”.

the first time I ever saw him there'.¹⁶⁰ Coventry, for all his familiarity with Pepys, is never recorded as present in any of Pepys's coffeehouse narratives – an omission that, given the reverence Pepys held him in, is difficult to explain away as oversight. The absence of 'courtiers' – at least those Pepys designates as such – which seems as much 'real' as 'represented', again gives Pepys' coffeehouse a particularly 'City' (as opposed to 'Court') flavour, for all the 'amphibious' figures that Pepys identifies.¹⁶¹ The Court may have only been a few miles – or less – away, but in these entries it was *represented* as something separate. This imaginative social-cleansing of the Restoration coffeehouse – of 'Court' and 'street' (and perhaps a feminized domestic 'home' too) – explains why *for Pepys* the coffeehouse is reduced from the realms of the utopian or dystopian to the quotidian – long before the more famous efforts of Steele and Addison. His representational practice allowed Pepys to bring the represented coffeehouse public into accord with its ideal public; one that was male, elite, commercial and professional.¹⁶²

Pepysian Spaces

In the remaining remarks here I want to defend an assertion made above, and add a brief coda that comments on the foregoing discussion but also looks forward to the chapters that follow. Turning to the first of these, having dealt in some detail with the evidence of Pepys' relationship with the Restoration coffeehouse, my modest opening claim that he did not in fact visit the coffeehouse might seem at first glance to have run into an empirical brick wall; a rhetorical strategy revealed as empty rhetoric. An attempt at saving face could certainly be constructed. It would be reasonable to argue, for instance, that Pepys did not visit (or record visits to, etc.) the coffeehouse as often has generally been assumed or, more often, implied. Also, it seems certain that for long periods in this decade-long data-set he barely entered these establishments at all; and that after the Fire of London he effectively abandoned them altogether. It is undoubtedly important to recognize that he did not go to an abstracted 'coffeehouse', but to a number of coffeehouses in a particular location, where he interacted with specific social groupings. Apparently Pepys neither went to these establishments solely to read the news and talk politics (although the latter has a role in Pepys's accounts of his activities there); nor did they constitute the critical node in his news-gathering activities. These

¹⁶⁰ 6th Feb., 1664, Pepys, v, p.39.

¹⁶¹ I neither wish here to suggest that 'courtiers' and 'cits' (or whatever the correct term here is) were entirely separate categories nor that they are of no value. 'Courtiers' is a term Pepys uses in a pretty stable manner.

¹⁶² Bryant notes a similar Pepysian blind-spot when accompanying Sandwich in 1660 to collect the Stuarts from the United Provinces. Here Pepys provides extensive detail on the officers and courtiers of Pepys but fails to mention the 'humble' (Bryant's characterization) sailors; Bryant, *Pepys*, p.80.

qualifications are certainly important and taken as a whole might modify the more expansive claims for this institution: the historiographical edifice built thereupon may have been shaken but nonetheless remains standing. But I wish to push this evidence farther; to move beyond an exercise in naysaying to a series of more positive statements. In short, I intend, notwithstanding the evidence laid out above, to insist that Pepys did not 'go to the coffeehouse', and to do so by first substituting 'space' for 'time', and then paradoxically, abandoning 'space' in favour of 'the subject'. Or, to put it in (slightly) less pretentious terms, by changing the questions we ask of this body of evidence, by altering the point of reference, from 'which coffeehouses did Pepys attend', to 'what was Pepys doing', a new set of answers emerges.

The first step requires an abandonment of an approach based on an institutional history in favour of the delineation of (if I may adopt some more historiographical jargon) a discursive topography; that is of Pepys' narrative space rather than a study of the coffeehouse's development over time. The narrative form of accounts of the 'emergence', 'rise' or 'transformation' of the coffeehouse not only imposes a certain structure - for example Cowan's exotic/domestic typology and trajectory - but also necessarily isolates and privileges its chosen phenomenon.¹⁶³ Indeed perhaps the fundamental problem in recent accounts of the coffeehouse has been to treat it as a 'closed institution'; as a discrete unit of analysis abstracted from its environment.¹⁶⁴ If we instead examine Pepysian *space* rather than coffeehouse *chronology*, if we remove our historiographical blinkers, an obvious conclusion emerges from the discussion above. Pepys' coffeehouse visits were part of an everyday routine that was centred on (but not limited to) the Royal Exchange. Pepys' refrain was, as noted earlier, 'At the office till noon and then to the Change'; not, '...and then to the coffeehouse'. In comparison to coffeehouses, the Royal Exchange has largely escaped the attention of Restoration historians; at least those interested in politics and political culture. The remainder of this chapter is a modest contribution to redressing this imbalance, and an attempt to discover why Pepys was so present there (and as a subsidiary matter in the coffeehouses thereabouts) in the winter of 1663/4.

¹⁶³ On this question see H. White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore, 1987).

¹⁶⁴ I am not convinced that Cowan achieves this goal: in fact given the form of his inquiry I think it impossible for him to do so; Cowan, *SLC*.

As noted above, for much of the diary period, the short trip from the Navy Board office to the Royal Exchange formed a critical part of Pepys' daily routine. Pepys' attendance was initially rather rare; just six instances in 1660, and only sixteen in 1661 - still a barely material element in his account. Thereafter, the Exchange became an important location in Pepys' narrative; twenty visits are recorded in 1662, jumping to seventy-six in 1663. This pattern reflects Pepys' personal and professional trajectory – which I return to below – from Axe Yard in Westminster to Seething Lane in the City, and from a household servant of Sandwich and Exchequer clerk to Clerk of Acts on the Navy Board. Pepys' recorded activity at this location peaks in 1664 at one-hundred-and-sixty-one visits – when Pepys was present every other day of the Exchange's five-day week. After that Pepys' attendance drops somewhat, to ninety-two visits in 1665, fifty-nine visits in 1666, and fifty-one, and forty-one references in 1667 and 1668, and, finally, twelve in the stub year of 1669. This pattern, as with his coffeehouse attendance, needs to be historicized beyond the purely subjective however. Indeed the dominant external factors are the same. Pepys' practices in 1665 were obviously affected by the Plague, and the following year the Exchange was burned to the ground, and whilst rehoused, was not rebuilt until after Pepys had concluded his diary. As a point of comparison, Figure 5 compares Pepys' diary references to the Royal Exchange with those to coffeehouses. There are two points to make about this chart. The first, and rather obvious one, is simply the difference in quantity: references to the Royal Exchange dwarfing those to the coffeehouses. The other is the correlation between the two sites. With the exception of 1660, references to coffeehouses generally track those to the Exchange, both peaking in 1663-4, until 1665, when Pepys abandoned that milieu altogether. To be clear, the relationship claimed here is not the weaker one of correlation, but the stronger kind, of causation. Pepys went to the coffeehouses around the Exchange as part of his Exchange practices, not vice versa. Recent historiography, by foregrounding the coffeehouse (and coffee), has obscured this relationship; at least as far as Pepys is concerned. Incidentally, and as noted above, there is no claim being made here that the diary is in any way a complete record of Pepys' daily practice – that he records every single movement on every single day of his nine-and-a-half-year account. Instead, I think we can say that Pepys recorded what he deemed to be important; and omissions represent either genuine absences or judgments on events' importance. What I am interested in is not whether the diary maps exactly onto Pepys' life, but the narrative space that Pepys' representational practice produces. For instance, perhaps Pepys did in fact (as opposed to in text) visit a coffeehouse on every occasion that he attended the Exchange (a limit case, and to the present author, entirely implausible, merely presented here as a thought experiment). Yet rather than saving the coffeehouse, and reinforcing its singularity and significance, this would imply quite the opposite.

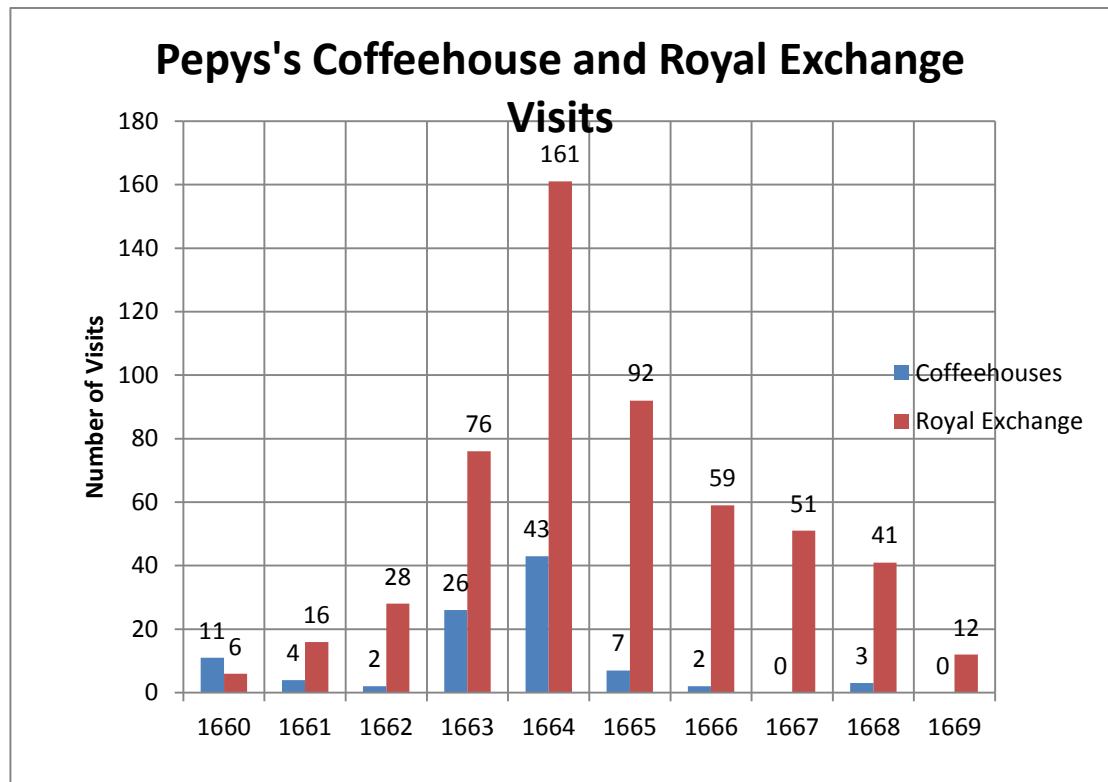


Figure 5 – Pepys' visits to The Royal Exchange & Coffeehouses

The Royal Exchange was one of the most important buildings in the capital; and hence the nation. It was situated at the heart of the City of London; in geographical, functional and symbolical terms. This was recognized in the various stillborn plans formulated for rebuilding London after the Fire of London. Robert Hooke put the Royal Exchange on the Thames waterfront, whilst John Evelyn relocated it to the centre of the city, 'practically in correspondence with St Paul's'.¹⁶⁵ Physically the building occupied a site between Cornhill and Threadneedle Street (Figure 6), providing a permanent setting for the more *ad hoc* meetings of merchants that had previously taken place in the same area.¹⁶⁶ As such it was only a short distance from Pepys' home and office on Seething Lane – his trips there were journeys within an entirely familiar neighbourhood. The building itself was three storeys tall; the basement offering storage, the ground floor serving as an open and uncovered trading floor, and the first floor housing luxury goods vendors. Functionally the Exchange acted as the centre for financial

¹⁶⁵ Calabi, *The Market and the City*, (Aldershot, 2004), p.180.

¹⁶⁶ Comments on the Royal Exchange in the following paragraphs where not explicitly cited are taken from, D. Calabi, *The Market and the City*, D. Calabi & D. Keene, "Exchanges and cultural transfer in European cities, c.1500-1700", in Calabi & Christensen, *Cities*, Glaisyer, N., *The culture of commerce in England, 1660-1720* (Woodbridge, 2006) and S. Whyman, *Sociability and Power in Late Stuart England: The Cultural Worlds of the Verneys, 1660-1720* (Oxford, 2002; 1st edition, 1999).

and commercial transactions; and formed part of a wider European network of Exchanges (or bourses) that had emerged towards the end of the 17th century to facilitate an increasingly complex, extensive and capitalized trading system. Their importance was recognized, amongst other ways, by their position on ‘tourist’ itineraries. Evelyn, for instance, recorded trips to similar institutions in Paris and Amsterdam; whilst the Dutch traveller-visitor, William Schellinks, left an extended, and generally accurate, description of the London Exchange in his travel narrative.¹⁶⁷ In the case of the Royal Exchange, this status continued at least into the 18th century, when one travel guide recommended the gallery on upper floor as an appropriate venue for viewing the theatre of commerce on the trading floor below.¹⁶⁸

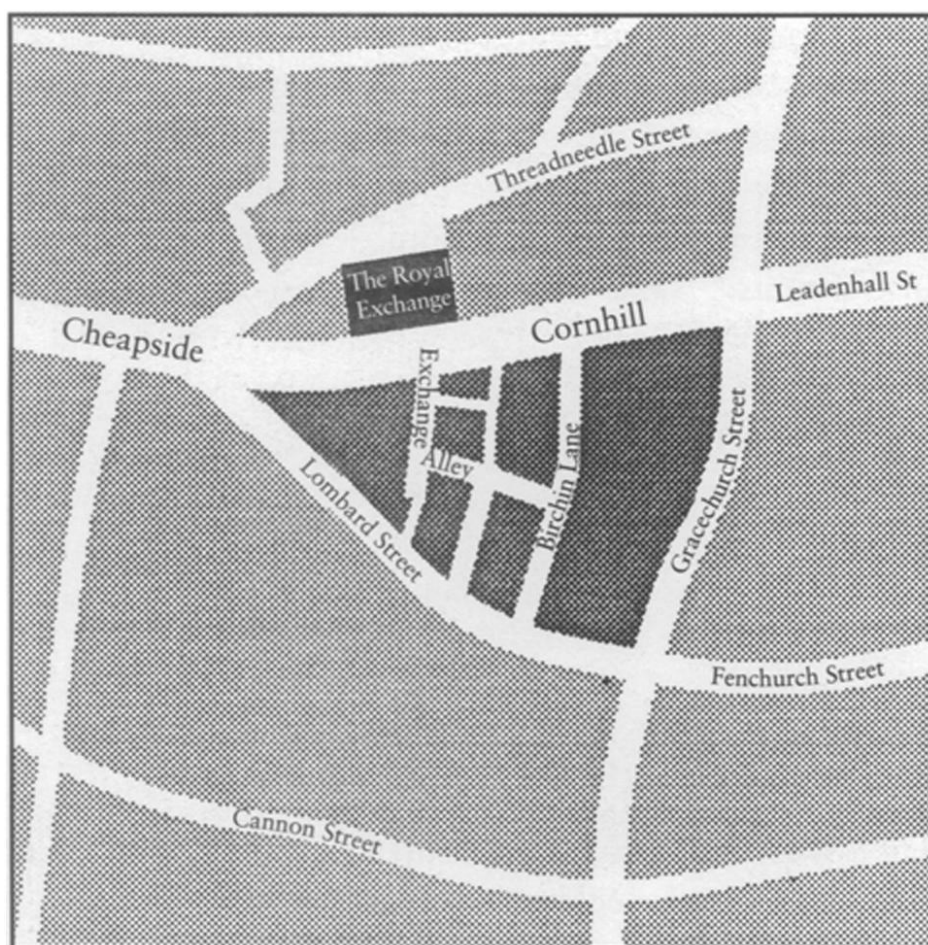


Figure 6. – The Royal Exchange: street map¹⁶⁹,

The Exchange formed a critical part of many merchants’ routines and practices. Indeed, Natasha Glaisyer has noted that, ‘Some traders were to be found so regularly on the Exchange

¹⁶⁷ De Beer, Evelyn, ii, pp.46 (Amsterdam) & 98 (Paris), Evelyn deemed both inferior to the Royal Exchange; see *The Journal of William Schellinks Travels in England, 1661-63*, (ed. and trans.) Exwood, M. & Lehmann, H. (London, 1993), pp.51-3.

¹⁶⁸ Glaisyer, *Culture of Commerce*, pp.48-9.

¹⁶⁹ L. Stewart, “Other Centres of Calculation, or, Where the Royal Society Didn’t Count: Commerce, Coffee-Houses and Natural Philosophy in Early Modern London”, *The British Journal for the History of Science*, Vol. 32, No. 2, Did the Royal Society Matter in the Eighteenth Century? (Jun., 1999), p.150.

that they used the walk they frequented as an address'.¹⁷⁰ Pepys came here, alone and with his colleagues, to visit the courtyard in order to discover up-to-date prices for naval commodities and to make (or advertise) contracts for them (see Figure 7). As this would suggest, the Exchange, like its Continental counterparts, was an important site in circuits of information and a repository of specialized knowledge. In spring 1661, for instance, Andrew Marvell informed Hull Corporation that it was 'two days news upon the Exchange that some French in the Bay of Canada haue discovered the long lookd for Northwest passage to the East Indies'.¹⁷¹ Hence Calabi and Keene, slipping into a now familiar idiom, note that, 'Collectively, the exchanges formed a system for the communication of information, not unlike the nodes in a modern communications network'.¹⁷² The presence of luxury goods retailers on the upper, galleried floor meant that the Exchange was also a site for conspicuous consumption: Calabi and Keene note that those shopping there were often the wives or sisters of those transacting below on the Exchange's open courtyard.¹⁷³ Pepys and his wife, Elizabeth, sometimes apart, sometimes together, were regular visitors here; window-shopping and making purchases. The Exchange was in fact effectively their local up-market 'shopping centre'. In January 1668, for example, Pepys took his wife and her servant, Deb Willett, on one such expedition, buying a copy of John Dryden's recent hit, *The Maiden Queen*, for himself.¹⁷⁴ The division between upper floor and courtyard is indicative of a gendering of space within the Exchange; Calabi and Keene even claiming that the consequent, '*erotique du savoir*...was crucial to the success of the place'.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁰ Glaisyer, *Culture of Commerce*, p.30.

¹⁷¹ 6th Apr., 1661, Westminster, Marvell to Hull Corporation, Marvell, *P&L*, II, p.22; further examples, see 24th Aug., 1665, London, Capt. George Cock to Williamson, *CSPD* 1664-5, p.531, 16th Nov., 1665, Captain Geo. Wharton to Col. Wm Legge, *HMC Dartmouth*, I, p.13, 28th May 1667, Philip Frowde to Burlington (in Dublin), BL Add MS 75,356, unfoliated.

¹⁷² Calabi & Keene, "Exchanges and cultural transfer", p.313.

¹⁷³ Calabi & Keene, "Exchanges and cultural transfer", p.307.

¹⁷⁴ Pepys; 18th Jan., 1668, Pepys, ix, p.29; other examples of shopping trips, 12th Jan., 1663, Pepys, iv, p.12, 14th Mar., 1664, Pepys, v, p.84, 4th Apr., 1665, Pepys, vi, p.73, 14th Jul., 1665, Pepys, vi, p.157.

¹⁷⁵ Calabi & Keene, "Exchanges and cultural transfer", p.313; see also, Glaisyer, *Culture of Commerce*, p.29.

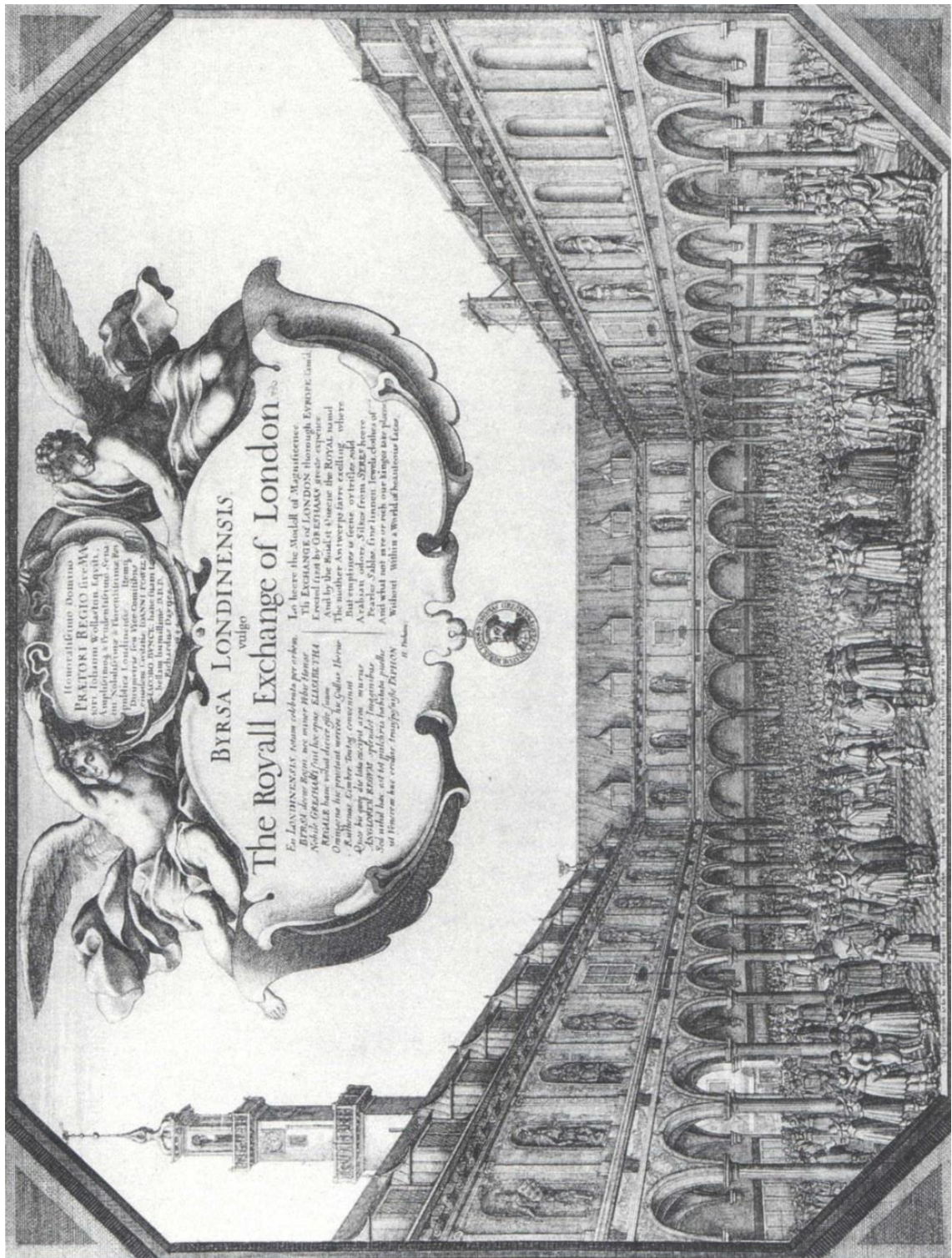


Figure 7 – Print of the Royal Exchange: Wenceslaus Hollar, 1644

The Exchange stood as the centre of an ecosystem of institutions which satisfied the needs and desires of its users; taverns, map-sellers, book-sellers and -binders, instrument-makers, and, yes, coffeehouses.¹⁷⁶ Pepys and his companions on these trips - his colleagues, kin and the merchants, financiers and virtuosi he met on the Exchange - seem to have used these

¹⁷⁶ Calabi & Keene, "Exchanges and cultural transfer", p.312.

establishments promiscuously though not indiscriminately. These visits typically occurred before Pepys arrived at or after he departed from the Exchange itself. Indeed the trips to taverns in this vicinity – amongst others The Pope’s Head, The Sun, and The Beare - could easily be substituted for those he made to the Exchange coffeehouses without any obvious difference emerging, except, that is, for their considerably greater incidence in his records.¹⁷⁷ Even the virtuosi seemed equally at home in the tavern. Pepys records one such ‘dinner’ (presumably after the morning session at the Exchange session, i.e. lunch). In the company of Petty, Brouncker and Sir Robert Murray [a founder member of the Royal Society], Pepys commended the ‘marrow bones and a chine of beefe’, before adding, ‘and excellent company and good discourse’.¹⁷⁸ It is Pepys’ Exchange practices that provide the proper context for his visits to the surrounding coffeehouses not vice versa.

The Exchange’s importance – both functionally and symbolically - was also recognized in and reinforced by its role in official publication.¹⁷⁹ The Exchange was, for example, a site where proclamations were read out within the City of London. In early 1665, for instance, the Dutch Ambassador wrote home that, ‘On Saturday last, the King's declaration [of war] was solemnly proclaimed. Two heralds in their coats of arms, with four mace-bearers, nine trumpeters, and two troops of horse, assembled at Westminster, where the trumpet sounded, and the declaration was read with great shouting and rejoicing of the people; thence they went to Temple Bar, where the Lord Mayor and aldermen, in scarlet gowns on horseback, conducted them to Temple Gate, over against Chancery Lane, where it was read...then again in Cheapside and before the Royal Exchange, with great demonstration of joy and sounding of trumpets; after which many nobles of the Court came into the City, to dine with the Lord Mayor’.¹⁸⁰ Here, beside the sheer theatricality of the early modern proclamation as event, Van Gogh records the Royal Exchange’s role as a counterpart in the City of London to Whitehall Palace in the City of Westminster. It seems, for instance, to have been here that Pepys heard the proclamation issued for the arrest of the Duke of Buckingham in the spring of 1667.¹⁸¹ The Exchange’s significance was similarly recognized in civic pageantry and spectacles of royal representation.

¹⁷⁷ For example, The Sun, 5th Feb., 1666, vii, p.36; The Pope’s Head, 14th & 27th Dec., 1665, Pepys, vi, pp.329 & 340, & 26th Jan., 1666, vii, p.25; The Bear, 22nd Dec., 1665, Pepys, vi, p.336.

¹⁷⁸ 18th Feb., 1665, Pepys, vi, p.38.

¹⁷⁹ Glaisyer, *Culture of Commerce*, p.32.

¹⁸⁰ 6th/16th Mar., 1665, (n.s.), Chelsea, Ambassador Van Goch to [the States General], *CSPD* 1664-5, p.242; Rugge provides a lengthy description of the same event, see Mar., 1665, BL Add MS 10,117, f.134v; for other significant proclamations here see De Beer, *Evelyn*, ii, p.555 (abolition of monarchy), iii, p.289 (burning of Solemn League and Covenant).

¹⁸¹ 11th Mar., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.108.

It was a point on the route taken by various civic processions; and at Charles's coronation in 1661, was the location chosen for a staged oration.¹⁸²

The Exchange was also a site for unofficial publication. Calabi and Keene note that 'Advertisements were hung thickly about the pillars of the [Exchange's] arcades'.¹⁸³ Pepys records another instance of this phenomenon during the Plague, noting 'I met this noon with Dr. Burnett, who told me, and I find in the newsbook this week that he posted upon the 'Change, that whoever did spread the report that, instead of the plague, his servant was by him killed, it was forgery'.¹⁸⁴ As Glaisyer notes, the Exchange's importance also elicited what might be styled oppositional- or counter-publication.¹⁸⁵ Occasionally the Exchange was a news item in its own right. Rugge noted the following incident in October 1662: 'in full Exchange time man was leading of beares by and by chance one of the beares broke loose from the and run into the Royal Exchange. The Merchants seeing the beare every man began to escape for himself and made towards the other goeing out of the Exchange from the beare made [such] a Crowd and noyse with Crying hee Comes! that they were hanged as in a not [i.e. knot] so that some lost the Cloaks, some hats, some some money and an old man fell down and was most sadly bruised by the feet upon his head and leggs so that he could scarcely speak besides many that was breathless for the pursuit: the beare at last smelt an apple shop and stayed there being well contented with his feast of apples, the good woman that sold them left him to pick and chose'; this surely constitutes one of the first records of a 'bear market'.¹⁸⁶ Beyond its comic value, Rugge's detailed account indicates what happened at the Exchange was a matter of wider interest and public record. More generally, in these cases, the Exchange is rendered complicit in the production of cultural and social meaning, the framing of political narratives, rather than simply the circulation of information.

The Exchange and its environs (including but not privileging the local coffeehouses), was a critical site for self-publication: that is, for the creation of important social and cultural identities in Restoration life – as always in these cases, encompassing notions of both 'self' and 'other'. In an analysis drawing on Craig Muldrew's work, Glaisyer has noted that, 'Good credit was vital to success in business, and the Royal Exchange was the principal site in London where reputations of members of the business community were established, observed, determined,

¹⁸² See J. Ogilby, *The Relation of His Majesties Entertainment* (London, 1661).

¹⁸³ Calabi & Keene, "Exchanges and cultural transfer", p.305.

¹⁸⁴ 22nd Jul., 1665, Pepys, vi, p.165.

¹⁸⁵ Glaisyer, *Culture of Commerce*, p.32.

¹⁸⁶ Aug., 1662, BL Add MS 10,117, f.39v; students of market psychology will appreciate that in this almost allegorical tale, as in stock market sell-offs, individually rational acts are collectively irrational.

ruined and saved'.¹⁸⁷ For Pepys at least, it was not an anonymous space, but, instead, a location where he came to be recognized (in both senses): or to use an informative Pepysian term, 'to see and be seen'. As noted above (in relation to the coffeehouses), Pepys went to Exchange and its various peripheral establishments in order to engage in acts of what sociologists term 'bonding social capital'.¹⁸⁸ Here, and in distinction to its counterpart, 'bridging social capital', Pepys and his interlocutors were creating a group identity: that is, they were involved in simultaneous acts of inclusion and exclusion.¹⁸⁹ Entrance to these groupings was not open to anyone but only to those with the appropriate 'capital'; whether economic, social, cultural, or, what I will here (inelegantly) term, informational. Pepys engaged in acts of display or demonstrations of his 'distinction'; showing off his cultural capital, his access to privileged (and therefore commercially valuable) intelligence, and his control of economic capital – as both public contractor and private consumer.¹⁹⁰ Difference was not 'bracketed', it was displayed. Again, as noted above, the social identity formed had a distinct, 'City' flavour – based on its institutions, roles (or types), discourses (or narratives) and participants – that was differentiated from, if not necessarily opposed to, a 'Court' or even 'Country' identity – regardless of the practical overlap between them. Certainly Pepys never seems, at least during the diary period, to have self-identified as a 'courtier' – he once even refers to them as 'beastly' – despite his frequent presence at Court.¹⁹¹

In sum then, the Exchange was a site for commercial transactions, information exchange, elite sociability and conspicuous consumption. The Exchange and its associated institutions, its ecosystem, formed one of the critical hubs – for the production of knowledge, the circulation of information and the creation of identities and meaning – in the capital, and hence in the nation. It was the institutional and symbolic home of the financial and commercial communities, and attracted those, like Pepys, but also the virtuosi, whose activities brought them into contact with these groups. Within London it was one of two or four such widely-recognized 'cardinal points'; the list either restricted to Court and Exchange or expanded to include separate hubs at St Paul's and Parliament – each with its own differentiated institutions, discourses, figures and participants. The distinguished but distinctive positions occupied by Court and Exchange are nicely illuminated by a 1668 newsletter: it notes, 'There

¹⁸⁷ Glaisyer, *Culture of Commerce*, p.42; C. Muldrew, *The economy of obligation : the culture of credit and social relations in early modern England* (Basingstoke, 1998).

¹⁸⁸ That is in addition to the specifically functional task of shopping, making contracts, checking commodity prices, &c.

¹⁸⁹ J. Scott & G. Marshall, *The Oxford Dictionary of Sociology* (Oxford, 2005), pp.606-7.

¹⁹⁰ This expansive notion of 'capital' is indebted to the work of Pierre Bourdieu; see, *Inter alia*, P. Bourdieu, *Distinction* (Cambridge, Mass; 1984).

¹⁹¹ 4th Jan., 1664, Pepys, v, p.4.

was a strange person taken up lately swimming neare Portsmouth who hath been brought to towne, but no person understands what language he speakes, by signes he seemes to be a christian, but neither at Court nor the Exchange can any learne what country he is of'.¹⁹² In an interesting summary statement that nonetheless, inadvertently, inverts the usual typology, Calabi and Keene have noted that the Exchange generated, 'a dense network of circulation of information from throughout the world...It allowed a striking intermingling of the formal and the informal; of the exotic and the everyday, and of the *public* sphere of news, trade and mercantile reputation with the *private* one of coffeehouse deals, personal goods and domestic consumption'.¹⁹³ Hence, to return to my quixotic conceit, Pepys did not visit coffeehouses, he visited the Exchange: or, to use the language of Bill Clinton's first presidential campaign: 'it's the Exchange stupid'.

The Coffeehouse Redux

Having relocated Pepys from the coffeehouse to the Royal Exchange and its surrounding establishments, it only remains to satisfy the earlier and seemingly quixotic claim that Pepys did not go to coffeehouses, by suggesting why Pepys was in fact in coffeehouses at the end of 1663 and early 1664 (but more to the point what he was doing at the Royal Exchange at this time). The winter of 1663-4, the moment his attendance at the Exchange peaked, is not a period to set pulses racing; it lacks the excitement of great national events which Pepys bears witness to elsewhere; in 1660, 1665, 1666 and 1667.¹⁹⁴ Both the period and his activities at the time have almost entirely escaped the attention of Pepys' numerous biographers – even the normally encyclopaedic Bryant has little to say about it (too mercantile perhaps). The normally exhaustive "Companion" volume to the Latham and Matthews' edition of the diary can find nothing to note in this period in their 'Chronology' except the death of Pepys' brother, Tom.¹⁹⁵ It was, nonetheless, an important moment in Pepys' career, and is reflected in the attention he lavishes upon it in his personal narrative. This can be seen graphically in Figure 8. In fact, 1663 and 1664 are two of the more extensively recorded years for period as a whole; an occurrence which, it is argued here, can at least partly be accounted by Pepys' Exchange activities.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹² 20th Jun., 1668, Newsletter, London, - Aston, BL Add MS 36,916, f.105.

¹⁹³ Calabi & Keene, "Exchanges and cultural transfer", p.313, emphasis added.

¹⁹⁴ The first three dates are self-explanatory. The latter, the great political disaster of the Dutch raid on the Medway, is, not surprisingly, less secure in English historical memory.

¹⁹⁵ Pepys, x, p.623; considering there are less than 10 additional pages of text before the conclusion of their efforts, their lack of comment here is understandable.

¹⁹⁶ I say partly because there were many possible reasons why Pepys may have written more extensively at any particular time: the closing period of the diary for instance appears to have received briefer comments as Pepys' eyesight worsened (albeit temporarily).

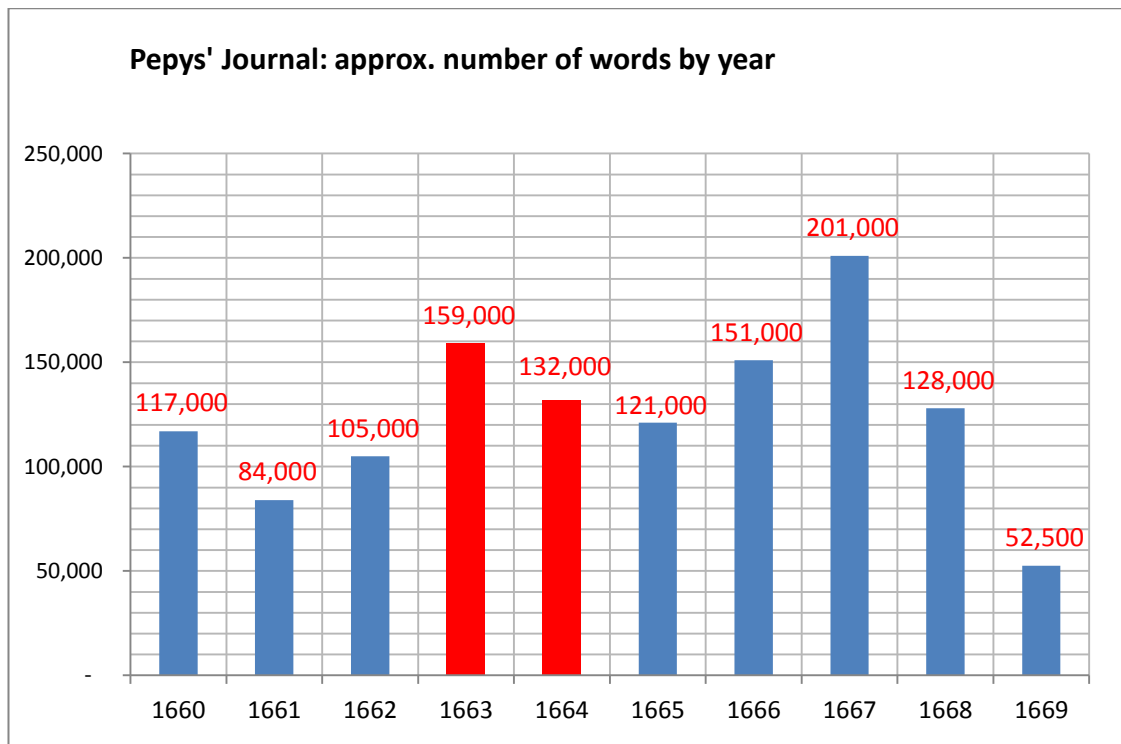


Figure 8 – Pepys' Diary in numbers: 1663 and 1664

Pepys' greater attendance at the Exchange coincides with his increasing dedication to his profession. It is at this point that Pepys' more doe-eyed biographers start to wax lyrical on his romantic attachment to the Navy, and Foucauldians to discern the disciplinary subject emerging before their eyes on the pages of Pepys' diary. More prosaically, it was a moment when Pepys became both fully aware of the material possibilities of his position, and of his current failure to monopolize them. At the beginning of 1663 – in fact, appropriately, on 12th Night - Pepys noted, 'it is high time to betake myself to my late vows...so I may for a great while do my duty, as I have begun, and encrease my good name and esteem in the world and get money, which sweetens all things and whereof I have much need.'¹⁹⁷ Certainly, as Pepys rather over-insistently repeats, this was in part a result of his desire to see the King's service done properly, but it is equally true that Pepys' professional mastery enabled him to control a greater proportion of the kickbacks that came with the awarding of contracts: what economists term 'rent-seeking. Pepys' 'interest' in the preservation of masts – noted above – was twofold: it was a matter of the public interest, but he also intended to use it to drive through a bargain by his own preferred supplier, Warren (and to frustrate the rival proposal of, the appropriately-named, William Wood, favoured by his colleague, Sir William Batten), and collect the ensuing private payment or 'gift' that would follow. This shift in Pepys' attitude and competence led to the politicization of the Navy Board; or, better still, to its militarization; the

¹⁹⁷ 6th Jan., 1663, Pepys, iv, pp.6-7.

struggle for administrative mastery - occasionally open, often fought through proxies like Anthony Deane - which continued fitfully until Pepys' triumphant double-crossing of his colleagues to their master, the Duke of York, in 1668. It is at this time, 1663-4 that is, that Sir William Penn, Pepys' most able colleague on the Board, previously a rather appealing and avuncular character, morphs – at least in Pepys' account - into a 'base rogue' and 'false knave'.

Pepys' attention to his business and his attendance at the office had already brought him to the notice of various naval contractors – typically, though not exclusively, those frozen out by the *status quo ante*. But by late 1663, Pepys seems to have extended this conflict to a new theatre: the Exchange. Here the theatrical metaphor is deliberate. As noted above, the Exchange was a stage on which reputations, as well as fortunes, were made and lost in public: a situation Pepys seems to have been wholly cognizant of. As early as March 1662, Pepys had noted, 'All the morning at the office by myself...and so at noon to the Exchange *to see and be seen*' – later that year he would become a regular sight there.¹⁹⁸ At the beginning of November then, Pepys noted, 'to the Change and there discoursed with many people, and I hope to settle again to my business and revive my report of fallowing of business'.¹⁹⁹ In part this was a site to demonstrate Pepys' professional knowledge and competence: suggesting an alternative, and altogether more self-centred reading of his interactions with the virtuosi of the Royal Society.²⁰⁰ Pepys also seems to have recognized the benefits of his privileged access to news. Hence in May 1663 Pepys noted that he, 'was overtaken in St. Paul's Churchyard by Sir G. Carteret in his coach...He told...me how Sir John Lawson hath done some execution upon the Turks in the Straight, of which I am glad, and told the news the first on the Exchange, and was much followed by merchants to tell it'.²⁰¹ Here Pepys is revealed as a producer and broker of information – appropriately, a commodity, like others, to be traded not given away - instead of the more familiar one-dimensional, passive consumer of news. Pepys' more regular attendance at the Exchange in this period years, both on the floor and in its surrounding establishments should be seen as part of his attempt to project this persona, as man-of-business, before his a critical audience – the Exchange public.

Pepys clearly stuck to the task in hand, and in late November 1663, Pepys was noting, 'Back by coach to the Exchange, there spoke with Sir W. Rider...and spoke with several other persons

¹⁹⁸ 17th Mar., 1662, Pepys, iii, p.47.

¹⁹⁹ 6th Nov., 1663, Pepys, iv, p.365.

²⁰⁰ Winn suggests that Dryden used the Royal Society to enhance his reputation and gain patronage in a similar fashion to Pepys, Winn, *Dryden*, p.129.

²⁰¹ 8th May 1662, Pepys, iii, p.79.

about business, and shall become pretty well known quickly'.²⁰² By February the next year, this strategy appeared to be working, Pepys commenting, 'to my good content to see how I grow in estimation every day more and more, and have things given more oftener then I used to have formerly'.²⁰³ None of this, of course, is to deny Pepys' genuine interest in Roman history, insect procreation or William Petty's discourse on modern authors – surprising as it may seem now – but rather to insist, unfashionably perhaps, that Pepys was a rational, strategizing agent, seeking to maximize his economic capital by displaying both his professional expertise and his cultural capital, that is by a presentation of self, before his key audience: the Exchange public.²⁰⁴ The success of this strategy and the personal transformation he effected there is nicely captured by an encounter Pepys recorded in late 1664 – a point when Pepys' attendance on the Exchange had noticeably diminished. In a quotation which stands as a counterpoint to his first recorded trip to a coffeehouse in the diary in company with Muddiman, Pepys notes, 'At noon, I to the Change and there, among others, had my first meeting with Mr. Lestrange who hath endeavoured several times to speak with me', adding, 'it is to get now and then some news of me, which I shall *as I see cause* give him.'²⁰⁵ In the politics of information and reputation, he was now a man to be courted. Pepys' Exchange strategy had been a success: in being recognized as an individual, Pepys had become a member of a collective yet exclusive City elite.

Conclusions

What conclusions then can be drawn from this study of Pepys's historical coffeehouse practices with regard to their existing historiographical representation? First, and perhaps most important, Pepys's account seems to suggest that the significance of the coffeehouse has been exaggerated. This holds true not only for Pepys' practice but also for his representation of his contemporaries' discursive practices. In the diary, the coffeehouse does not loom large. Nor does Pepys's account support the argument that the coffeehouse, as a novel institution selling an unknown commodity, was the site of widespread cultural anxieties that could only be overcome as a result of an extended time period and considerable polemical investment (or obfuscation). The coffeehouse exists in the realm of Pepys' quotidian activities; its much-discussed polemical, hypostatized, existence, leaving no evidence at all in either his diary or his

²⁰² 25th Nov., 1663, Pepys, iv, p.398.

²⁰³ 23rd Feb., 1664, Pepys, v, p.62.

²⁰⁴ The theoretical co-ordinates for this view of Pepys actions are – transparently – Goffman and Bourdieu; E. Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (London, 1990; orig. 1959) and P. Bourdieu, *Distinction* (Cambridge, Mass; 1984).

²⁰⁵ 17th Dec., 1664, Pepys, v, p.348; emphasis added.

reading and collecting activities. In Pepys's account, the coffeehouse is simply one among many establishments; neither, as Cowan would have it, singular nor exemplary, and from Pepys's evidence, by 1660 not even considered novel. Perhaps more importantly, the historiographical focus applied to the coffeehouse as paradigmatic discursive institution and contested cultural metaphor has obscured this broader communicative field; and in so doing misrepresented Pepys' historical practice. Communicative exchange should not be understood in polycentric terms - as a network of equal yet privileged institutions (i.e. coffeehouses), broadly spread across the city (and if we are to believe Pincus, across the country as a whole) offering universal and equal access to information.²⁰⁶ Rather, it was an essentially hierarchical system constituted by certain dominant news-hubs: the Exchange and St. Paul's in the City; the Court and Westminster Palace to the West, extending into a penumbra of lesser establishments; taverns, inns, bookshops, theatres, brothels, that catered to their social constituents various needs and desires; and then beyond them as participants went about their everyday lives. It extended into almost all Pepys's social encounters. Indeed many of Pepys' most revealing 'political' discussions, his reflections on public authority, took place in the privacy of gardens, coaches, and on 'the leads' (i.e. the roof) of the Navy Office; and of course, in the famous set-piece soliloquies carefully confined to the diary. Steve Pincus has stated that, 'No longer did those interested in the latest developments feel compelled to confide their thoughts to news-diaries and commonplace books or feel restricted to discussing them in the company of friends in the safety of their own private homes. The new coffeehouses provided a venue for public political discussion'; yet confiding his thoughts on politics to his diary, entering into discrete discussions with friends, and not sharing his political critique in potentially promiscuous coffeehouse discourse is *exactly* what Pepys did.²⁰⁷

News, or information, circulated through these institutions via the social encounters that took place there. These encounters were shaped by and in turn sustained the social networks which contemporaries participated in. The reintroduction of hierarchy into the communicative field, both in terms of institutions and access to information, needs to be mirrored by a gradation of the publicity (or privacy) of the encounters that took place there. Similarly, the notion of paradigmatically 'public' and 'private' spaces collapses in Pepys's account faced by a continuum of *ad hoc* communicative *practices*, exhibiting more or less public character, between these *ideal* poles. The discursive arena that Pepys inhabited and describes then, was at once *more expansive* but *less egalitarian* than recent historiographical representation would have it; subject that is to the same social forces that sustained an unequal, hierarchical society.

²⁰⁶ Pincus. "Coffee", *passim*, but especially pp.833-4.

²⁰⁷ Pincus, "Coffee", p.833.

Just as all institutions were not created equal, nor were the opportunities to participate in the social networks through which news passed: access to news was connected to access to these news networks.²⁰⁸ Finally, Pepysian practice does not represent a clear break with early Stuart practice, let alone an example of 'modernity' (a category more often invoked than defined). There is no support in Pepys for the notion that, provided they could afford to pay for their drink, anyone could turn up at a coffeehouse and participate fully in coffeehouse sociability; that the markers of social status were somehow 'bracketed' *in practice*.²⁰⁹ Indeed it is tempting to turn Pincus on his head and say that whilst Pepys did not discuss *politics* in the coffeehouse, it remained an intensely *politicized* space where status was displayed rather than discounted. Finally, Pepys's London in the 1660s – the only period and the principal place this study can speak to – had more in common with the early Stuart world satirized by Ben Jonson in *The Staple of Newes* – with its four cardinal points of 'gossip'; Court, Westminster Palace, St Paul's and The Royal Exchange – than with Steve Pincus's novel, explicitly 'modern' (but more accurately utopian) public sphere, oriented as it is to a modernity more at home in the 'Long 18th century' (if anywhere).

²⁰⁸ To return to the comparison with computer networks which I suggested earlier has informed these discussions of early modern information societies, we should think not in terms of a networked system of computers but a 'cloud' of devices which is, nonetheless, managed and owned by private and public, i.e. state, interests.

²⁰⁹ Pincus, "Coffee", pp.833-4.

Chapter II – Pepys in Public

At some time near the end of September 1661, Pepys made the following entry in his journal: 'up by moonshine; at 5 o'clock, to White-hall to meet Mr. Moore [Sandwich's 'man-of-business'; lawyer; friend, colleague and confidant of SP] at the Privy Seale; but he not being come as appointed, I went into King-streete to the Red Lyon to drink my morning draft and there I heard of a fray between the two Ambassadors of Spaine and France; and that this day being the day of the entrance of an Ambassador from Sweden, they intended to fight for the precedence'.²¹⁰ On this occasion Westminster tavern-talk proved correct: the households of the two ambassadors turned this civic ritual into a running battle through the streets of the City. The subsequent contest left participants, observers and (worst of all) innocent coach-horses, dead or wounded. Pepys himself was forced to 'shift' in an attempt to catch up with the unfolding spectacle. Having missed the main act, Pepys caught the aftermath, adding later in the same entry, '[running] after them with my boy [i.e. Pepys' servant; the defiantly-roguish, Wayneman Birch] after me, through all the dirt and the streets full of people; till at last at the mewes I saw the Spanish coach go, with 50 drawne swords at least to guard it and our souldiers shouting for joy'.²¹¹ Later in the same entry, in more contemplative mode, Pepys reflected that, 'It is strange to see how all the City did rejoyce', adding as clarification, 'And ended, we do all naturally love the Spanish and hate the French'.²¹² Whilst it was the Spanish that held both the field and, to Pepys' mind, the affections of the City public, the event itself remained open to interpretation. In fact this *piece-de-theatre* produced a rich body of responses ranging from diplomatic correspondence, royal proclamation and official newspapers, through the journals of Pepys, Evelyn and Rugge, to pamphlets and ballads, and, of course, the responses of its original audience. Louis XIV, one of the principals, albeit by proxy or representation, even deemed it sufficiently important to gloss both the event and the precepts to be drawn from it at considerable length in his private advice (or political testament) to his successor, the constantly-deferred dauphin.²¹³ And like all good theatre – political or otherwise - it spawned a series of sequels played out across the European stage.

Public Diplomacy/Diplomatic Publics

²¹⁰ 30th Sep., 1661, Pepys, ii, pp.186-7; for more on Henry Moore see Pepys, x, p.248.

²¹¹ 30th Sep., 1661, Pepys, ii, p.188; just over two years later, Birch was sent to Barbados as indentured servant; Pepys, claiming that 'to keep him here were to bring him to the gallows', 14th Nov., 1663, Pepys, iv, p.382.

²¹² 30th Sep., 1661, Pepys, ii, p.188.

²¹³ *Mémoires for the instruction of the Dauphin*, P. Sonnino (ed./trans.) (New York, 1970)

These events would seem to naturally fall into the orbit of either social or diplomatic history, but at the same time to pull each away from its normal centre of gravity. In the case of diplomatic history it shifts attention away from its traditional preoccupation with secretive, even clandestine, elite political practice towards public display and social interaction. In the case of social history, the displacement is from the micro- (or even a-) political onto politics with a capital 'P'. I will argue that this incident then can be profitably resurrected by deploying the conjoined notions of *public diplomacy* and *diplomatic publics*. My use of the term 'public' here - as prefix and suffix – is a deliberate gesture towards the ubiquitous interest in the public sphere in recent interdisciplinary study. But, once again, this incident is somewhat at odds with treatments of this phenomenon - at least those dominant in late Stuart historiography – focusing on the emergence of a novel, discursive mode of publicity centred on the Restoration coffeehouse. Whilst this chapter foregrounds alternative public spaces, modes of publicity and political subjects, it does so not to replace the more familiar ensemble of these categories, but rather to examine how they interacted in practice. In this sense, it presents a negative image to the previous chapter, where a public sphere organized around the practices of political discourse was interrogated to reveal an at once more expansive yet more hierarchical stage for public display. Here, a staged act of elite diplomatic publicity (or display) becomes the subject of both a demotic counter-display and extensive public discourse, and then further acts of display and discourse; if not quite *ad infinitum* at then least over the remainder of the diary period, and not merely in London, but across Europe.

Diplomatic narratives of the latter 17th century, from contemporary accounts onwards, have been dominated by the actions of Louis XIV. If the explicit political (and nationalistic) bias of many of these early accounts has been tempered over time, subsequent historiography has retained the central dynamic of French activism in general, and the role of Louis in particular.²¹⁴ Thus for Paul Kennedy, 1660 marks the conclusion of the Spanish bid for 'universal monarchy' and its long retreat to the status of a second-rate power.²¹⁵ The ensuing period, stretching to Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo, was characterized in the first instance by Anglo-Dutch-French and, thereafter, by Anglo-French rivalry in Europe and increasingly across

²¹⁴ See Miller's comments on Louis's (and traditional French) legitimate concerns over Habsburg encirclement, Miller, *Charles II*, pp.83-4.

²¹⁵ P. Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers* (London, 1988). On Spain see H. Kamen, *Spain's Road to Empire: the Making of a World Power, 1492 – 1763* (London, 2002), Chapters 8 – 9, esp. pp.411-12 & Miller, *Charles II*, p.82. Tim Blanning adopts the same end date, 1815, but starts slightly earlier, in 1648; T. Blanning, *The Pursuit of Glory: Europe 1648 – 1815* (London, 2007).

the globe.²¹⁶ Altering the historical lens, John Miller has noted that during the second half of the seventeenth century, European dynastic politics pivoted on the question of the Spanish Succession: Louis XIV's attempt to secure first the Spanish Netherlands and the Franche-Comte and ultimately Spain proper to the Bourbon patrimony and the various reactions, and ultimately alliances that this provoked.²¹⁷ In this context of growing French power, increasingly typed Catholic, the Stuart brothers' consistent Francophile tendencies set them at odds with many of their subjects – or at least many of those that were most vocal. These tensions were evident, paradoxically, in the secrecy surrounding the provisions of the private version of the Treaty of Dover, but would become public during the 1670s amid the crisis that marked the end of Charles's reign.²¹⁸ Here then at least, 1660 retains its status as a watershed: the moment that a predominant fear of Spain shifts towards a similarly dominant if longer-lasting hostility to France.²¹⁹ Recently, Steve Pincus has attempted to reset discussion of English foreign policy in the middle decades of the 17th century in wholly secular terms of rival bids for 'universal monarchy': a tension played out in public discourse as much as in private discussions at court. In Pincus's schema, an essentially anti-Dutch/anti-republican stance in the 1660s was displaced by an anti-French/anti-absolutist stance in the 1670s, at elite and popular levels.²²⁰ For all their other disagreements, on this point at least Jonathan Scott and Pincus can agree.²²¹ Scott has insisted – in the face of the vogue for a hegemonic 'archipelagic' historiography - that the critical frame for examining 17th century English politics is European: the triangular relationship between England, France and the United Provinces.²²²

Unsurprisingly (and this is not intended as criticism of the views stated above), this future was less clear in the autumn of 1661 – although it was the subject of considerable speculation, as Pincus has shown.²²³ This is not simply a case of withholding the benefit of hindsight from contemporaries (although that is part of the story), but a reflection of the considerable changes that had taken place amongst the Atlantic powers over the preceding two years; and

²¹⁶ P. Kennedy, *The rise and fall of the great powers*, Chapters 2 & 3

²¹⁷ Miller, *Charles II*, p.82; see also G. Holmes, *The making of a great power: late Stuart and early Georgian Britain, 1660-1722*, (London, 1993).

²¹⁸ Miller, *Popery*, especially Chapters 6 – 8; on the consistency of Stuart Francophilia see Miller, *Charles II*, p.86.

²¹⁹ See T. Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England, 1660 – 1760* (Cambridge, 2007), p.152.

²²⁰ This is the subject of the post-1660 part of Pincus, *P&P*, see esp. Ch. 16; see also Pincus, "From Butterboxes to Wooden Shoes: The Shift in English Popular Sentiment from Anti-Dutch to Anti-French in the 1670s", *The Historical Journal*, 38:2 (Jun., 1995), pp.333-61.

²²¹ See for instance, Pincus, "Coffee", p.811.

²²² For this 'Continental turn' see Scott, *England's Troubles*, esp. Ch. 1; see also, T. Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England*.

²²³ Pincus, *P&P*, esp. Chs 1, 12, 18 & 19.

the resulting fluidity – however short-lived - of the diplomatic scene.²²⁴ Hence Sir Keith Feiling, the pre-eminent authority on the formulation of English diplomacy in this period has noted, ‘the balance of power had entered on that middle tract of doubt which separates the anti-Hapsburg leagues of Elizabeth or Richelieu from the anti-French coalitions of William III’; or the Restoration as a ‘transitional’ period once more.²²⁵ The first stage of the realignment of the early 1660s was the signing of peace between France and Spain in 1659 at the Treaty of the Pyrenees; an event that the still-exiled Royalists were forced to observe from the outside. This was a triumph for France (and retrospectively can be seen as the symbolic conclusion of Spain’s hegemonic ambitions). France not only retained its territorial gains, it finally brought to a close more than two decades of debilitating internal and external conflict: the Frondes and the Franco-Spanish coda to the Thirty Years’ War.²²⁶ As Feiling observed, France would soon emerge as ‘the greatest war machine yet known to the western world’.²²⁷ The restoration of the Stuarts the following year reduced British isolation from the continental powers, and raised questions about its future orientation.²²⁸ In fact the Cromwellian regime had been in alliance with Mazarin’s France at the fag-end of the Franco-Spanish War – and had gained Dunkirk as a result. England and Spain remained at war after the Franco-Spanish peace. The conflict continued, albeit in rather desultory fashion, until the cessation of military operations in July 1660, and, finally, the conclusion of a peace in September 1660.²²⁹ Ironically, Anglo-French relations initially remained poor. The stipulation in Cromwell and Mazarin’s alliance that the Royalist court be expelled from French territory remained a continuing sore in Anglo-French relations after the Restoration; and Bordeaux, the first French ambassador of the reign, proved spectacularly unpopular with the new regime (see below). The resolution to this problem, at least superficially, was not long in coming, its French architect, Cardinal Mazarin finally dying in March 1661. Louis XIV’s unexpected assumption of personal power was the final element of this re-shuffled diplomatic scene. If Louis would become the principal actor on the European stage, he remained at this time something of an unknown quantity – more

²²⁴ The analysis in this chapter draws on Miller, *Charles II*, Ch. 4, and K. Feiling, *British Foreign Policy, 1660 – 1672* (London, 1968); on the seductive dangers of hindsight for the diplomatic historian, see Miller, p.82.

²²⁵ Feiling, *British Foreign Policy*, pp.9-10.

²²⁶ J. Miller, *Bourbon and Stuart: Kings and Kingship in France and England in the seventeenth century* (London, 1987), Chs 5 & 6, esp. p.165.

²²⁷ Feiling, *British Foreign Policy*, p.34.

²²⁸ For the diplomatic situation at the Restoration see Miller, *Charles II*, Ch.4; R. Hutton, *Charles II: King of England, Scotland and Ireland* (Oxford, 1989), pp.157-60.

²²⁹ In fact, peace was reached without a formal treaty and clashes continued in the Americas; Miller, *Charles II*, p.88.

famous as a ballet dancer than a political player.²³⁰ In Pepys' diary, for instance, he does not figure at all prior to the events examined in this chapter. The death in 1660 of Charles X of Sweden and the succession of Charles XI should be added to this catalogue. Firstly, this was an important political development in the critical Baltic region. Hence Feiling's drily observes, 'On the 13th February Charles X of Sweden restored the harmony of the North by his death'.²³¹ Secondly, it precipitated the Swedish embassy to England the following year.

Louis XIV, representative publicity & diplomatic display

Louis's obsession with his public image and the performative nature of his kingship is, of course, well-known.²³² As Peter Burke has shown, Louis's 'public' self was deliberately fashioned by an elaborate system of state-sponsored institutions that managed politico-cultural production on an industrial (or perhaps proto-industrial) and, at that time, unrivalled scale – what he terms the 'structure of glorification of Louis XIV'.²³³ English contemporaries regarded this system with envy – not least for the opportunities for patronage it provided. In 1669 John Evelyn – admittedly an interested party in both senses – was still attempting to persuade Charles of the benefits of emulating his cousin, when he suggested to Lord Clifford the employment of, 'some sober, and well instructed person, who, dignified with the Character of his Royal Historiographer, might be oblig'd to serve and defend his Maties honor, and that of the publiq, with his pen; a thing so carefully, and so industriously observ'd by ye French King, and all other greate potentates , who have any regard or tendernesse to their owne, or their peoples glory , the encouragement of Gallant men, and the prospect of their future stories'.²³⁴ Unlike both his cousin and his successors, Louis was perfectly suited to the representational demands – surely as much psychological as performative - of differentiating between the 'front' and 'back regions' of absolute monarchy: he was, as Miller notes, 'a consummate actor'.²³⁵ The contrast with Charles was equally marked and remarked upon. The Earl of Mulgrave, for instance, noted of Charles that, 'He had so natural an aversion to all

²³⁰ Burke, tellingly, entitles the chapter on the period between the beginning of Louis's personal rule and the War of Devolution in 1667, 'Self-assertion', Burke, *Fabrication*, Ch. V; Miller notes Charles's persistent misjudgement of his cousin in the early 1660s, Miller, *Charles II*, p.84.

²³¹ On the importance of the Baltic to England and the United Provinces see Feiling, *British Foreign Policy*, p.28.

²³² On Louis's public image, Burke, *Fabrication*; the English context of these themes should be illuminated by K. Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule: The Restoration and Revolution Monarchy, 1660-1714* (New Haven; 2013).

²³³ Burke, *Fabrication*, quotation on p.61, see especially Ch. IV.

²³⁴ 1st Feb., 1668/9, Sayes Court, Evelyn to Clifford, BL Add MS 78,298, f.176v.

²³⁵ Miller, *Bourbon and Stuart*, p.173; for 'front' and 'back' regions see, E. Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (London, 1990; 1st edition, 1959).

formality...that he could not...*act the part* of a King for a moment'.²³⁶ Habermas termed this mode of publicity 'representative publicness' - the representation of an individual's status attributes or qualities *before* an audience - and contrasted it to the bourgeois mode of discursive rationality *between* individuals, where such differences in status were 'bracketed'. As Tim Blanning has noted, whilst the emergence of the bourgeois public sphere is normally narrated against the decline of representative publicity, this mode of public representation in fact reached its apogee in the baroque courts of the late 17th and early 18th century: the exact moment that 'modern' modes of publicity were emerging in Britain.²³⁷ In accounts of British (or more often English) developments, this mode of publicity is normally ignored or nodded to parenthetically. Lake and Pincus, for instance, comment that, 'had James II been successful in completing his reconfiguration of the English state in the 1680s, English public culture would have been remarkably similar to the political culture of Louis XIV's France'; but, rather than investigating the coexistence of these alternative modes of publicity - indeed the dialectical nature of their emergence - chose instead to pursue a narrative of emergent discursive rationality.²³⁸

Like Craig Muldrew's notion of 'credit', monarchical 'honour' was not something that was merely internalized but had to be socially, that is publicly, recognized and renewed; indeed Muldrew's comment that, 'more than anything credit was a public means of social communication and circulating judgement about the value of other members of the community', is equally apt for diplomacy if 'honour' is substituted for 'credit'.²³⁹ The early modern obsession with diplomatic precedent - unintelligible within the functionalist-realist international relations paradigm - becomes wholly understandable when early modern diplomacy is reconceived as a status-conscious, hierarchically-structured and publicly (and publicity) oriented field. Jeremy Black has thus recently observed of the early modern diplomatic sphere that, 'As is usual in systems of competitive honour, there was a complex mix of competitive prestige, often on very symbolic and trivial points of honour, within an overall presumption of equality'; although whether Louis acknowledged this final point, or tended more towards the Byzantine and (early modern) Chinese tributary systems Black contrasts to

²³⁶ Mulgrave quoted in Scott, *Troubles*, p.169, emphasis added; see also Halifax's comments, see H. Foxcroft (ed.), *The Life and Letters of Sir George Savile, First Marquis of Halifax &c* (London, 1898), II, p.358.

²³⁷ T. Blanning, *The culture of power and the power of culture: old regime Europe 1660-1789* (Oxford, 2002); Habermas, *STPS*, pp.5-13, esp. p.10.

²³⁸ Lake & Pincus, "Rethinking", p.286.

²³⁹ C. Muldrew, *The economy of obligation: the culture of credit and social relations in early modern England* (Basingstoke, 1998); quotation on p.2.

the European model, is a moot point.²⁴⁰ Unsurprisingly, quarrels over protocol and precedence were commonplace, if not typically on the scale discussed below. In Sir John Finett, the Caroline Master of Requests' account of early Stuart diplomacy – published in 1656 and owned by Pepys (though perhaps not in 1661) - these extended from disputes over the official rank accredited to visiting diplomats, through seating arrangements at dinners, plays and court masques, to invitations to investitures at the Order of the Garter.²⁴¹ If the 'international' projection of Louis' image and the promotion of his '*gloire*' were in part accomplished through textual publication and material culture, it was also promoted by French diplomacy and diplomats (as well as, of course, French arms).²⁴² This aspect of early modern diplomatic life – at the unstable border between 'hard' and 'soft-power' - has been neglected in both older and more recent studies.²⁴³ In the former it was obscured by diplomatic historians' obsession with diplomats as 'secret negotiators' rather than as 'public orators' - to use Garrett Mattingly's distinction. Echoing Sir Henry Wotton's famous dictum, Ralph Montagu noted succinctly that 'The part of an Ambassador is to be a spy and a tell-tale'; although Montagu, as his subsequent career would amply demonstrate, was perhaps something of an extreme case in this regard.²⁴⁴ More recent interest in diplomats, replicating the faults of cultural history more generally, has emphasized their role as agents of an aestheticized (i.e. depoliticized) 'cultural exchange' – a kind of diplomatic history with the diplomacy taken out.²⁴⁵ (Hence, Niall Ferguson has noted that, 'the typical Western undergraduate specializing in history is more likely to study trees than treaties'.)²⁴⁶ Yet beyond their duties in these familiar areas, diplomats were expected to represent their monarchs at foreign courts, to uphold their reputation, honour and dignity; and to do so in a variety of more-or-less public spectacles.

²⁴⁰ J. Black, *A History of Diplomacy* (London, 2010), p.25, for the Byzantine and Chinese models see pp.33 & 34.

²⁴¹ A. Loomie, *Ceremonies of Charles I : the note books of John Finet, 1628-1641* (Fordham, 1987), pp.34-6.

²⁴² Burke, *Fabrication*, *passim* but esp. Ch. 11; Miller notes that Louis took particular interest in the conduct of French diplomacy, Miller, *Bourbon and Stuart*, p.172.

²⁴³ The originator of this term was Joseph Nye, see J. Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, (New York; 2004). Miller, for instance, notes, 'historians tend greatly to underestimate the importance of honour and protocol to seventeenth century rulers', Miller, *Charles II*, p.90.

²⁴⁴ G. Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (New York, 1988), p.54; Mattingly too, whilst recognizing both aspects, concentrates on diplomats as 'secret negotiators'. More recently, Marshall's treatment of Downing similarly focuses on the 'cloak-and-dagger' aspect of diplomacy, A. Marshall, *Intelligence and Espionage in the reign of Charles II, 1660-1685* (Cambridge, 1994), Ch. 7. Haley's treatment of Dutch clandestine propaganda during the Third Anglo-Dutch War occupies something of a hybrid position, K. Haley, *William of Orange and the English Opposition, 1672-4* (Oxford, 1953); 26th Jul., 1669, Paris, Ralph Montagu to Lord Arlington, HMC *Buccleuch*, i, p.432.

²⁴⁵ I would like to acknowledge conversations with Professor Michael Questier and Dr Jason Peacey on this point.

²⁴⁶ N. Ferguson, "Balancing Acts", *Times Literary Supplement*, 9th Aug., 2013, p.3.

In his *Memoires*, or testament, designed for the private instruction of his successor in public matters, Louis, referring to the incident discussed below, but in relation to issues of precedence more generally, made absolutely clear the agonistic nature of such diplomatic activity: 'here', he declared, 'the kind of homage is truly of another sort, of king to king, of crown to crown, which could not even leave our enemies in any more doubt that ours is the first in all Christendom'.²⁴⁷ In Louis's eyes some monarchs were more equal than others. Louis's use of the term 'homage' here is important. Black has recently commented that, 'Display and ceremonial were significant as a means of expressing a world-view, and thus seeking to impose it'.²⁴⁸ Louis's actions and understanding of such actions were not merely display, but display as an act of symbolic power. Louis here also identifies the principal, or to borrow from literary studies, 'intended' audience for such displays as a princely one. Hence Habermas, discussing representative publicity but in terms directly applicable here, observes, 'these [events] served not so much the pleasure of the participants as *the demonstration of grandeur*, that is the grandeur of the hosts and guests'. But, as the diplomatic imbroglio discussed here demonstrated, this was not the only audience for such royal spectacles. 'The common people', Habermas continued, 'content to look on, had the most fun. Thus even here the people were not completely excluded; they were ever present in the streets', (although here, as elsewhere, Habermas underestimated the political agency of what he terms, 'the common people').²⁴⁹ To take just one contemporary example from the diplomatic arena, on the departure in August 1661 of the Venetian ambassadors extraordinary, Correr and Morosini from England, the Resident, Giavarina, noted – in terms no doubt calculated to please his masters, but not necessarily for that reason untrue – that they 'had appeared at incredible expense with unequalled splendour, amid the admiration of the whole city'; thereby combining the appropriate Renaissance mixture of expense, display and acclaim.²⁵⁰ Thus when the French and Spanish took to the streets of London they were in their own, their monarchs' and the spectators' eyes, representing Louis and his Spanish counterpart, Philip IV; and understood to be doing so.

²⁴⁷ *Memoires*, p.75; Louis made a similar point in with regard to domestic rivals; see Blanning, *Pursuit of Glory*, p.211.

²⁴⁸ Black, *A History of Diplomacy*, p.35.

²⁴⁹ Habermas, *STPS*, p.10; emphasis added.

²⁵⁰ 19th Aug., 1661, n.s., London, Francesco Giavarina, Venetian Resident in England, to the Doge and Senate, *CSPV*, 1661-4, p.29.

Louis's primary responsibility for the events that took place is not in doubt. Burke, in his account of Louis's 'fabrication' characterizes the period of the reign from the assumption of personal power to the War of Devolution in 1667 as 'the age of self-assertion'. Sonnino similarly comments that, 'the restoration of order was merely the basis for more glorious excursions into the realms of foreign policy and war'.²⁵¹ On the European stage this produced a particularly aggressive and public mode of diplomacy. In his political testament Louis noted, 'they [i.e. Spanish ambassadors in various European capitals] would try, under the ever plausible pretext of avoiding disorder, to suppress the memory of a precedence that is so legitimately mine'; an indication that Louis was prepared, even wished, to provoke the Spanish into a public display – either of defiance or obeisance (or in this case, it would turn out, the first then the second).²⁵² His sense that his ambassadors represented him *in person*, and that there was strict sovereign hierarchy within the diplomatic field that needed to be both publicly enforced and explicitly acknowledged, was evident in his instructions to his departing ambassador. Godfroi, Comte D'Estrades was ordered to, 'jealously...preserve the dignity of his Crown in the Court whither he is going; because any insult he may receive would in reality fall on his master, who is bound to resent it to the utmost...The Sieur d'Estrades will in all occasions preserve the pre-eminence to which the King is entitled'. What this pre-eminence entailed, and Louis's sense of the hierarchy of European states and state forms, was unambiguously stated. D'Estrades was to '[allow] no ambassador to go before him, except the Emperor's in case he were to send one to England. He will allow to his left the Spanish ambassador as well as the representatives of other kings who hold their crown direct from God alone. As for those of Venice', in a nice indication of Louis's estimation of republican government, he added, 'he will allow them only to go behind.'²⁵³

In fact an engagement prior to that which later occurred had only been narrowly avoided in August, when, on Charles II's intervention with Venetian support, both the D'Estrades and his Spanish counterpart, Watteville (or Batteville, occasionally Vatteville), had refrained from attending the earlier entry of the Venetian ambassadors, Correr and Morosini.²⁵⁴ The latter informed the Doge and Senate that, 'The ambassadors of France and Spain proposed to honour us in the usual way by sending their coaches, but as the question of precedence

²⁵¹ Burke, *Fabrication*, quotation on p.61, and Ch. V on the period as a whole; *Memoires*, p.4.

²⁵² *Memoires*, p.70.

²⁵³ 13th May 1661, n.s., Louis to d'Estrades, J. Jusserand, *A French Ambassador at the Court of Charles the Second. Le comte de Cominges, from his unpublished correspondence...With portraits*, (London, 1892), p.21.

²⁵⁴ Jusserand, *French Ambassador*, pp.22-3; For an account of this earlier incident, see 5th August, 1661, n.s., London, Angelo Correr and Michiel Morosini, Venetian Ambassadors Extraordinary in England, to the Doge and Senate, *CSPV*, 1661-4, p.24.

between them is insoluble, and it began to be whispered that they would take this opportunity of disputing it'. To give an idea of the scale of this phantom engagement - allowing for some exaggeration - according to the ambassadors D'Estrades intended to make, 'a levy not only of Frenchmen but of their dependants, while Batteville did the like, so that there would have been over 3,000 men under arms...with danger of some serious outrage among the parties concerned'. Striking a familiar note on English domestic politics, they warned that such a diplomatic fray might set off a, 'worse disturbance, since there are many eagerly watching for such opportunities. The king, learning that our expedient, which he approved, had not sufficed to stay them, prevented the contest by his own authority sending word to both that he wished them not to stir, and so it fell out. In the evening they sent their compliments, saying they had been prevented from sending their coaches'.²⁵⁵

This locally-negotiated truce, far from satisfying Louis, only prompted redoubled demands from Paris for the public recognition of his diplomatic rights; at least as he understood them. Louis made amply clear his displeasure at his minion's failure to comply with his original instructions and his expectations of his future conduct. 'I will not conceal that I have been impressed by two things', he informed his ambassador. The first concerned the conduct of his cousin: 'the King my brother [i.e Charles II] has taken part in this without necessity and in a rather unobliging manner, as he seems to have been bent upon a complete equality established between me and my brother the Catholic King'. 'The other', and this no doubt set alarm bells ringing at the French embassy in London, 'is that you have consented to what he has let you know he wanted'.²⁵⁶ The message was not lost on D'Estrades, who swiftly replied: 'I prepare to carry the thing the next time to such a pitch that I am greatly mistaken if the most difficult to please find anything to reproach me with'; indeed, according to Giavarina, D'Estrades informed him 'he had precise orders from his king to send his coach, threatening his head if he did the contrary'.²⁵⁷ Consequently, Charles's attempt to broker another truce foundered on this newly forged French resolution. Giavarina noted that, 'Foreseeing disorder...the king sent to tell them that he hoped they would not send their coaches, to avoid disturbance, which in present circumstances, from the residue of evil humours in the city, could not but produce evil consequences, to his own personal interests also'. In an interesting

²⁵⁵ 5th August, 1661, n.s., London, Angelo Correr and Michel Morosini to -, *CSPV*, 1661-4 p.24.

²⁵⁶ 22nd Aug., 1661, n.s., Louis to d'Estrades, Jusserand, *French Ambassador*, p.23; see also Louis's retrospective account, 'And remembering that in matters of state it is sometime unnecessary to cut what cannot be untied, I instructed D'Estrades precisely that at the first entry of an ambassador, whether ordinary or extraordinary, whether or not he had been notified, he should not fail to send his coach to him and to have it assume and preserve the first rank', *Memoires*, p.71.

²⁵⁷ 22nd Aug., 1661, n.s., d'Estrades to Lionne, Jusserand, *French Ambassador*, pp.23-4; 14th Oct., 1661, Francesco Giavarina to -, *CSPV*, 1661-1664, p.54.

elision, Giavarina continues, 'France replied that he could by no means obey his Majesty as he had precise orders from his king to send his coach'. Given his diplomatic role, and the nature of personal as much as dynastic honour, Watteville was obliged – as Louis intended – to accept this public challenge. Hence Giavarina concluded, 'seeing that he could not prevail', Charles secured 'a promise from both ambassadors not to allow any of their household to carry firearms, forbidding his subjects to interfere on either side, and sending to the Tower...several regiments of horse and foot of the guard, to prevent the English from intervening in the quarrel'.²⁵⁸ Charles then by his actions was both opening a public stage for a foreign dynastic-cum-diplomatic battle on the streets of his capital, and attempting to secure that space from popular intervention. With the terms of engagement thus clarified, three days before the Swede's entry, D'Estrades wrote, 'I am making the largest preparations possible; the Spanish Ambassador does his best to oppose me. The event will take place on Monday.'²⁵⁹ The stage was set for confrontation at the Swede's arrival.

It seems probable then that the audience for this diplomatic-cum-civic event was larger than normal; and that this was a result of an anticipated fracas. Just two days before the encounter, the Venetian Resident, Giavarina, informed his masters that, 'The entry of the ambassador extraordinary of Sweden is fixed for Monday. There may be bloodshed owing to the quarrel between Spain and France for precedence, unless His Majesty intervenes.' In a comment that shows how supposedly secret diplomatic instructions were circulated, he added, 'D'Estrades announces that he has instructions from the Most Christian to send his coach, stating that he was reproved for having obeyed the king at the entry of the extraordinaries of Venice, and in that case the Catholic ambassador will have to send his, so that he might not seem to be giving way.' In fact it seems possible, if not likely, that the circulation of this information by D'Estrades was an attempt to put his rival off attending, and gain honour without cost: a stratagem which offered little in the way of downside, and in fact became a common diplomatic occurrence. Giavarina, correctly it turned out, predicted the outcome of this diplomatic war, if not the battle that followed, when he noted that, 'whoever gets the place nothing will be decided as it will not settle the rival claims of the two crowns for precedence, which can only be done with much bloodshed and disturbance.'²⁶⁰ If the primary audience for these actions was Louis's fellow monarchs (and in the few republics, their principal ministers), the public nature of ambassadorial entrances ensured that they would also be played out before a more socially-diverse public.

²⁵⁸ 14th Oct., 1661, Francesco Giavarina to -, *CSPV*, 1661-1664, p.54.

²⁵⁹ 6th Oct., 1661, n.s., D'Estrades to Brienne the Younger, Jusserand, *French Ambassador*, p.25.

²⁶⁰ 7th Oct., 1661, n.s., Francesco Giavarina to -, *CSPV*, 1661-1664, p.52.

Public Diplomacy (I)

The diplomatic tumult constitutes the, admittedly spectacular, visible tip of a much larger and often invisible body of what I will hereafter term public diplomacy.²⁶¹ This lack of visibility, whilst unfortunate, and I would argue unwarranted, is not altogether unexpected. Diplomatic history has been out of fashion for some time now. As traditionally practised this field has been too concerned with 'high politics', with its consequent focus on 'great men', for current mainstream academic tastes.²⁶² This absence is even evident in the otherwise encyclopaedic "Companion" edition to the Latham and Matthews *Pepys* – a work justly praised for its exemplary scholarship. Notwithstanding its apparent exhaustiveness – containing, *inter alia*, "Christenings", "Christmas" and "Christ's Hospital" – this volume has neither entries for "Embassies", "Ambassadors" (or *Pepys's* preferred, "Embassadours") nor "Diplomacy"; nor, more remarkably still, "Louis XIV" and "France" (let alone "Estrades" or "Watteville").²⁶³ By contrast, ambassadors and embassies – as both temporary events and semi-permanent entities – figure prominently not only in *Pepys's* narrative, but also in the diaries of Evelyn and Rugge.²⁶⁴ As these diaries show, far from being restricted to the precincts of Whitehall, this diplomatic field – constituted by its institutions, practices, actors, and narratives – spilled over into the economic and social, as much as cultural and political life of the capital.²⁶⁵ As the incident discussed here shows, far from being sharply-defined, it was an amorphous, shifting space encompassing not merely 'diplomats' and 'natives', but less clear-cut figures including foreign visitors, immigrant communities, such as the French Huguenots, and local groups with particular ties (or perceived to have such ties) to foreign powers; English Catholics being the most obvious, but not the only example.²⁶⁶ The interactions which took place there between the various participants ranged from the level of the spectacular ritual to quotidian practices. These in turn ranged from the clandestine to the wholly legitimate; the secret meeting to the staged event. Finally, this field was unstable in terms of its normative valence: ranging from the most highly-politicized to the politically-inert and even comic. The recording of this field of

²⁶¹ Although, see below, this may not be the best prefix, since it emphasizes one end of a spectrum of publicity. The benefit of this name seems to lie in indicating the less well examined end of the spectrum.

²⁶² An issue addressed in Lake, P. & Pincus, S., "The Strange Death of Political History" *NACBS* 2012, Panel 39: http://www.historyworkingpapers.org/?page_id=305#_edn8.

²⁶³ Entries selected for their representative (and alliterative) quality, *Pepys*, x, pp.62-5.

²⁶⁴ All citations for Evelyn are taken from *The Diary of John Evelyn*, E. De Beer (ed.), (Oxford, 1955), 6 vols; those for Thomas Rugge are from the BL manuscripts, BL Add MS 10,116-7.

²⁶⁵ As noted above, the interface between diplomacy and *covert* action, whether espionage, propaganda or political subversion and bribery, has been better recognized, for this period, *inter alia*, Haley, *William of Orange*; Marshall, *Intelligence and Espionage*.

²⁶⁶ I am grateful to Michael Questier discussions on this point.

interaction by figures such as Pepys, Evelyn and Rugge shows that it was of interest to a cross section of contemporaries. At the same time, their descriptions demonstrate how access to it was shaped by social status.²⁶⁷

This field can perhaps most easily be traced in an annotated Pepysian narrative; not least because Pepys' changing circumstances - from a situation not too dissimilar to that of Rugge at the opening of the diary, to one approaching Evelyn's at its conclusion - reveal the manner in which his intertwined social and political ascent opened up his access to this hierarchical space. For dramatic effect as much as to make a substantive point, these encounters might usefully be book-ended by two quotations; the first from very beginning of Pepys' journal, the second taken from near its close almost a decade later. Thus in the entry for the 7th January 1660, Pepys notes, 'In the middle of our dinner [i.e. at Pepys' lodgings in Axe Yard, Westminster] a messenger from Mr. Downing came to fetch me to him, so leaving Mr. Hawly there, I went and was forced to stay till night in expectation of the French Ambassador [i.e. Bordeaux] , who at last came, and I had a great deal of good discourse with one of his gentlemen concerning the reason of the difference between the zeal of the French and the Spaniard'.²⁶⁸ Besides containing an early comment on the cultural difference between the two nations that would find an echo in his more normative distinction a year-and-a-half later, this entry also indicates Pepys' interest in Europe and European matters. In addition, it demonstrates the manner and spaces in which such forms of what may legitimately be termed 'cultural exchange' took place. Finally, it illustrates Pepys' relatively lowly status at the opening of his narrative; if not literally behind closed doors, shut-out from the main business, it is not the ambassador, Bordeaux, but his 'gentleman' that Pepys engages in discourse. Yet even this early example shows how, for a contemporary outside the elite – although with helpful connections to it – the point of contact, or zone of engagement between public diplomacy and diplomatic public could occur, and what form and content the discourse that then then arose might take.

²⁶⁷ For Evelyn see Douglas D. C. Chambers, 'Evelyn, John (1620–1706)', *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004); online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/view/article/8996>, accessed 13 April 2013]. Less is known of the barber, Thomas Rugge, although Clarke notes that he was 'moderately prosperous', his status would have been below Pepys of even the mid-diary, and to Evelyn; Elizabeth R. Clarke, 'Rugg, Thomas (d. 1670)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004); online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/view/article/24261>, accessed 13 April 2013].

²⁶⁸ 7th Jan., 1660, Pepys, i, p.10.

The second account comes from the entry for the 5th May 1669, a little less than a month before Pepys finished his journal. The difference is pronounced. '[And] thence, with the Duke of York, to White Hall...and so at noon with Sir Thomas Allen, and Sir Edward Scott, and Lord Carlingford [respectively, the naval commander and future Navy Board commissioner; a mid-rank officer; and, the Irish Catholic, soldier, diplomat and confidant to Charles], to the Spanish Ambassador's, where I dined the first time...There was at the table himself [i.e. the ambassador; the Conde de Molina] and a Spanish Countess...three Fathers and us. Discourse good and pleasant. And here was an Oxford scholar in a Doctor of Law's gowne, sent from the College where the Ambassador lay, when the Court was there [i.e., New College during the Plague] to salute him before his return to Spain: This man, though a gentle sort of scholar, yet sat like a fool for want of French or Spanish, but [knew] only Latin, which he spoke like an Englishman to one of the Fathers. And by and by he and I to talk, and the company very merry at my defending Cambridge against Oxford: and I made much use of my French and Spanish here, to my great content.'²⁶⁹ In this entry, particularly when compared to the previous one, Pepys' social ascent over the 1660s can be clearly gauged by his diplomatic access. From the 'outsider', at Downing's beck-and-call, he has become, literally, an 'insider'; a trusted public servant, known to members of the English (and Anglo-Irish) elite, invited to dine at Molina's residence, and performing in three languages before this socially-elevated audience. As in the previous entry, the politics of this diplomatic moment are muted, if present at all; the attendance of the presumably Catholic 'Fathers' eliciting no textual response from Pepys at all. This is an instance of elite sociability, albeit of a cosmopolitan nature. Indeed here Pepys uses the foreign 'other' as a way to reflect on English shortcomings – 'he spoke like an Englishman'; not just a 21st century phenomenon then – although this might simply be another instance of Pepys' occasional jibes at University scholars.²⁷⁰

These two entries circumscribe, at least chronologically, a wealth of Pepysian diplomatic exchanges or encounters that together, in addition to Pepys' progress, illustrate the interlocking notions of public diplomacy and diplomatic publics. These include other visits to embassies; not always, as on the occasion above, with an invitation. In June 1663, for instance, Pepys notes, 'by the way, to York House, where the Russia Ambassador do lie; and there I saw

²⁶⁹ 5th May 1669, Pepys, ix, pp.544-5.

²⁷⁰ For Pepys' comments at the expense of 'scholars' see, inter alia, 'to the King's Head ordinary, where much and very good company, among others one very talking man, but a scholler, that would needs put in his discourse and philosophy upon every occasion, and though he did well enough, yet his readiness to speak spoilt all', 26th Oct., 1663, Pepys, iv, p.349.

his people go up and down louseing themselves: they [being] in a great hurry...to be gone the beginning of next week'.²⁷¹ More controversially, although it is not represented as so in his text, Pepys attended mass at the Catholic chapels allowed to the ambassadors at their official residences. On 19th May 1661, for example, he (illegally) attended Mass at the Spanish ambassador's, noting, 'seeing many people at Yorke-house, I went down and find them at Masse...and there I heard two masses – done I think, in not so much state as I have seen them done heretofore'; afterwards taking 'a turn or two' in the embassy garden.²⁷² Here Pepys illustrates another mode of interaction between native hosts and diplomatic guests: one that might easily take on a more normative cast.

Pepys was also present, as a spectator, at ambassadorial entrances and audiences. On the 21st March 1661, three days after noting in his journal his formal civic entrance, Pepys wrote, 'This day I saw the Florence Ambassador go to his audience, the weather very foul, and yet he and his company very gallant'.²⁷³ The following year, having already attended their entrance (discussed below), Pepys witnessed the official audience of the Russian embassy. His account of this event is worth quoting at some length; for its descriptive detail and the sense of the 'exotic' that such events might on occasion conjure up: 'Thence to White Hall, and got up to the top gallerys in the Banqueting House, to see the audience of the Russia Embassadors; which [took place] after long waiting and fear of the falling of the gallery (it being so full, and part of it being parted from the rest, for nobody to come up merely from the weakness thereof): and very handsome it was. After they were come in, I went down and got through the croude almost as high as the King and the Embassadors, where I saw all the presents, being rich furs, hawks, carpets, cloths of tissue, and sea-horse teeth. The King took two or three hawks upon his fist, having a glove on, wrought with gold, given him for the purpose. The son of one of the Embassadors was in the richest suit for pearl and tissue, that ever I did see, or shall, I believe. After they and all the company had kissed the King's hand, then the three Embassadors and the son, and no more, did kiss the Queen's. One thing more I did observe, that the chief Embassador did carry up his master's letters in state before him on high; and as soon as he had delivered them, he did fall down to the ground and lay there a great while'.²⁷⁴ In particular, Pepys' account – with its crowded gallery – gives a good sense of the publicity and popularity of such events in the life of Restoration London.

²⁷¹ 6th Jun., 1663, Pepys, iv, p.175.

²⁷² 19th May 1661, Pepys, ii, p.102; see also, 27th Sep., 1668, Pepys, ix, p.319.

²⁷³ 21st Mar., 1661, Pepys, ii, p.57.

²⁷⁴ 29th Dec., 1662, Pepys, iii, p.297.

The dinner that Pepys attended at the Spanish ambassador's residence in 1669 was an element in the practices of sociability that constituted an important aspect of early diplomacy, and of the diplomat's routine. At one end these coincided with set-piece ceremonial events. Pepys for instance records the embarrassment of another French ambassador, D'Estrades' successor, De Cominges at a dinner to mark the Lord Mayor's Day.²⁷⁵ At the other end of the spectrum, ambassadors were expected, like other members of the City elite – including the Navy Board – to provision entertainment on special occasions, such as coronations or military victories.²⁷⁶ Reporting on the celebrations that marked Charles's entry into London in May 1660, Giavarina noted, 'For three days and three nights they have lighted bonfires and made merry, burning effigies of Cromwell and other rebels with much abuse. The foreign ministers have taken part in these rejoicings, and I also, in addition to the illuminations have kept before the door a fountain of wine and other liquors, according to the custom of the country, much to the delight of the people'. Getting to the rub, he added, 'I have spent 97*l.* sterling, an insignificant sum', although to be completely clear he concluded, 'As all these expenses are extraordinary I hope the Senate will allow them in my accounts'.²⁷⁷ Participation on such occasions could shape the reputation of the ambassador in the eyes of various local audiences.

In a remarkable letter to the Secretary of State, Sir Edward Nicholas, Evelyn, an elite participant in the diplomatic field throughout this period, reported that, 'The present French Ambassadors behaviour (if so he may be styled who negotiates with A Rebell) has been so scandalous and so disobliging to his Matie that there is hardly a person to be found of any quality, and that has practis'd [doubtful] him, but have brought away their observation...he does rarely dine without some remarks prejudicial to the reputation either of the person or the just pretensions of the K: our Sovraigne; But, in all he does or says, promote the Interest of Cromwell, and the confusions of this Nation...his main affaire here seem'd to be the depraving of the Women, and the French Ambassadors house is growne so infamous that a Lady of qualitie will not come neere it'. If that familiar mix of political and moral depravity were not enough, Evelyn concluded, 'but it is not more notorious [for] Adulteries then for that barbarous Murther committed on his poore Cooke as 'tis reported, by his connivance, and buried in his garden'.²⁷⁸ (Whatever the truth of these charges – and the political ones at least are generally considered accurate if perhaps overstated; the culinary one perhaps an early French critique of English cuisine – Bordeaux was sent home without the usual formalities: an action that may have done much to extend the difficult diplomatic relations between France

²⁷⁵ 29th Oct., 1663, Pepys, pp.354-5.

²⁷⁶ For an example of making bonfires involving the Navy Board see 8th Jun., 1665, Pepys, vi, p.123.

²⁷⁷ 11th Jun., 1660, n.s., Francesco Giavarina to -, *CSPV*, 1659-61, pp.155-6.

²⁷⁸ 1st Aug., 1660, Sayes Court, Evelyn to Sir Edward Nicholas, BL Add MS 78,298, f.105.

and England from Mazarin's ministry into the period of Louis's personal rule).²⁷⁹ Notwithstanding his assessment of Bordeaux, the diplomatic contacts that Evelyn recorded in his diary and letters constituted an extension of both his social life and his intellectual interests.

In addition to these official or semi-official occasions, Pepys notes a range of informal encounters. As discussed below, members of D'Estrades' household were involved in a scuffle of some sort shortly before the battle of Tower Hill; an incident that, not surprisingly, did little to endear either them, or a representative 'Frenchman' to their hosts. Encounters like this would have been common knowledge – at least within the capital; others were published in the official news-books. In October 1660, for instance, Thomas Rugge commented that, 'Ambassador of france lyes att sumersett house but being new come I cannot speake any thinge that is worth observation'; an entry that, however brief, recognizes interest in movements within the diplomatic community within the capital, and an expectation that there will be more to report in the future.²⁸⁰ The news-books, notwithstanding the previous quotation, appear to have been the main source for Rugge's numerous entries on specific diplomatic incidents and dynastic politics more generally.²⁸¹ Rugge for instance noted at considerable length the deaths of important figures, international developments (including curiosities), and diplomatic events in London itself. In March 1662, for instance, Rugge noted (it is tempting to add, apropos of nothing), 'Count Caretti [Cavetti] a Genoese riding through Rome in a Coach died suddenly unknown untill his corps fell out of the Coach in the streets to the great amazement of the beholders'.²⁸² The temptation must, however, be resisted: this news item obviously seemed important to Rugge, and would have contributed to his understanding of the wider world, of which dynastic policy and diplomatic manoeuvre formed a part. The lengthy report that he made of the Franco-Spanish engagement on Tower Hill, for instance, had been prefaced by earlier and extensive entries on the death of the Swedish king, Charles X and his funeral arrangements.²⁸³ In other words, in his diurnal, Rugge constructed an account that linked foreign affairs and dynastic developments to public diplomacy in the capital; the foreign and the local. The absence of any interpretative apparatus – so familiar and frustrating to readers – or additional biographical information makes it difficult to know what Rugge made of this material. It is impossible to discern how he used this everyday construction

²⁷⁹ Feiling, *British Foreign Policy*, pp.25 & 30-33.

²⁸⁰ Oct., 1660, BL Add MS 10,116, f.130.

²⁸¹ Not a great deal seems to be known about Rugge. The entry in the *ODNB*, for instance, is rather slight – an observation rather than an indictment, Clarke, "Rugg", *ODNB*.

²⁸² Mar., 1662, BL Add MS 10, 117, f.15v.

²⁸³ Mar., '1659/60 BL Add MS 10,116, ff.70 [death] & 106 [funeral].

of a diplomatic narrative and England's place in it. Nonetheless, his decision to include it demonstrates that he thought it was remarkable, and that it should be recorded. His practice thus places him within a diplomatic public. Furthermore, the inclusion of diplomacy in his diurnal, as with his contemporaries, Evelyn and Pepys, indicates that such narratives were set amongst a series of other discourses, of greater or lesser prominence at different times, which helped contemporaries make sense of their world.

Rugge's use of the printed news-books indicates the various ways in which and materials with which contemporaries might have constructed a narrative within which to frame the range of diplomatic encounters described above. In addition to the news-books, Pepys' account reveals the importance of oral discourse in establishing this interpretative framework. In December 1663, he recorded an example of just such a conversation: 'Thence to the King's Head ordinary, and there dined among a company of fine gentlemen; some of them discoursed of the King of France's greatness, and how he is come to make the Princes of the Blood to take place of all foreign Embassadors, which it seems is granted by them of Venice and other States, and expected from my Lord Hollis, our King's Embassador there; and that either upon that score or something else he hath not had his entry yet in Paris, but hath received several affronts, and among others his harnesse cut, and his gentlemen of his horse killed, which will breed bad blood if true'. Whilst this final comment was incorrect, the entry as a whole is revealing in a number of ways.²⁸⁴ Firstly, this conversation took place in a tavern, as did that in which Pepys learned of the forthcoming dispute in September 1661 (on that occasion the Red Lyon/Lion). In addition, both establishments were in Westminster, close to Whitehall Palace; a reminder that the court was the diplomatic 'hub' of the capital, the initial clearing-house for diplomatic news.²⁸⁵ Next it indicates contemporary English esteem for Louis (see below) – his 'greatness' – in this instance apparently at least in part as a result of his deliberate insistence (or manipulation) of diplomatic precedence, and mastery of public diplomacy more generally. At the same time it identifies an actual if ephemeral instantiation of a diplomatic - and discursive – public; 'some fine gentlemen', for these reports of Parisian displays. Finally, as Pepys' comment, 'which it seems is granted them of Venice and other states', indicates some sort of diplomatic narrative in which these events framed. (In respect to the 'cut harnesse' it also echoes the earlier incident at Tower Wharf; an example perhaps of public memory).

²⁸⁴ 14th Dec., 1663, Pepys, iv, pp.419-20.

²⁸⁵ On the topic of distinct hubs and their association with particular types of news and knowledge see discussion in Chapter I above.

In Pepys' case, these reports and discussions were informed by (and in turn informed) his wider reading; of diplomatic works, travelogues and histories (not necessarily distinct categories), as well as the news-books that Rugge generally seems to have relied upon. Pepys for instance owned -though not necessarily in the diary period - works by Pierre Bassompierre, Sir John Finett, James Howell, Paul Rycout, John Selden, Abraham van Wicquefort and John Michael Wright, covering an array of diplomatic themes; texts that he could historicize through his impressive collection, and in this instance we can say extensive reading, of histories.²⁸⁶ The variety of these texts indicates the manner in which 'diplomacy' as a discreet analytical category for the historian would have merged in practice with other discourses; for instance, the topics of travel, the Navy, international law, Europe and history. They would in turn have been informed (and complicated) by the various and in some cases conflicting narratives that constituted what Scott has referred to as Restoration public memory.²⁸⁷ Pepys, like his contemporaries then, would have naturally brought these various interpretative materials and frameworks to bear on the various encounters outlined above (and described in detail below), but it seems reasonable to assume these encounters in turn impacted back on these discourses and narratives in a dialectical fashion. Access to such material was not of course equal – as the references to Pepys, Evelyn and Rugge here have hopefully indicated - but that should not preclude, and in practice does not seem to have prevented, an interest and at times active engagement with the various expressions of public diplomacy; that is, to some sort of diplomatic public of readers and actors. Here, as the incident in question will demonstrate, public display merged into public discourse; whilst diplomatic discourse might, in turn, transform into public display. Indeed, it was the interaction of these interpretative practices and social encounters – the conjunction (at times collision) of the practices of public diplomacy and the dispositions of a diplomatic public - that would have shaped Pepys' and the other spectators' responses to events on the 30th September 1661.

The Ambassadorial Entrance: Theory and Practice

The entrance was amongst if not the most public, and certainly the most spectacular of the rituals that constituted this diplomatic round. As a civic event, it ranked below coronations and progresses, but probably alongside the likes the Lord Mayor's procession, and above all but the most exceptional of executions. It followed – or was supposed to follow - a precisely

²⁸⁶ For particular works see Latham, *Catalogue*. On Pepys' reading practices see, A. Jajdelska, "Pepys in the history of reading", *The Historical Journal*, 50:3 (Sep., 2007), pp.549-569; I would like to thank Dr. Kate Loveman for her advice on Pepys' reading of 'histories'.

²⁸⁷ On Restoration memory, see Scott, *England's Troubles*, especially Chs. 1 & 7; I am also grateful to Edward Legon for allowing me to look at early draft of his doctoral research on this topic.

choreographed sequence and route. Having first announced its arrival at Gravesend, and then waited at Greenwich in the case of Ambassadors Extraordinary to arrange the formalities of entry the embassy proceeded in a royal barge accompanied by Master of Ceremonies, to Tower Hill (Residents preceded immediately to the Tower).²⁸⁸ This choice of location was both practical and symbolic. In the latter case, the Tower represented the power of the Crown over the semi-autonomous City of London; at times, particularly towards the end of Charles II's and James II's rule, in a practical as much as symbolic manner.²⁸⁹ It was traditionally the location where English monarchs spent the night before their coronations; although Charles II was in fact the last to do so.²⁹⁰ Furthermore, as the eastern-most part of urban London, it allowed the procession of diplomatic coaches to display state power – of both the visiting dignitaries and the domestic government – before and receive the public acclamation of the City on their progress towards Whitehall (see Figure 9). There they were housed by Sir Abraham Williams, whilst arrangements were made for the official audience; the other great set-piece of the embassy, held at the Banqueting House in Westminster.²⁹¹ Logistically the Tower and its river frontage of Tower Wharf, and the open spaces of Great Tower Hill and Little Tower Hill provided sufficient space for disembarkation, for diplomatic coaches to manoeuvre, and for spectators – diplomatic and local – and participants to assemble (see Figure 10). The ambassador and his embassy would be met there by a royal representative according to their office – extraordinary or ordinary – and the nature of the polity in their country of origin; imperial, royal, ducal or republican.²⁹² It was at this point that the arriving ambassador's coach departed after the King's for Westminster to await their official audience, and the other resident ambassadors – if they chose to attend – took their appropriate places behind it. This route seems to have taken the cavalcade from Tower Wharf, through Tower Hill, up Crutched Friars and then along the main thoroughfares of the City of London; Gracechurch Street, Cornhill (taking in the Royal Exchange), Ludgate Hill and Fleet Street, before entering the City of Westminster and proceeding along the Strand, via Charing Cross, to King Street and

²⁸⁸ See account of contemporary entrance provided by Correr and Morosini, 5th Aug., 1661, n.s., London, Angelo Correr and Michiel Morosini, Venetian Ambassadors Extraordinary in England, to the Doge and Senate, *CSPV*, 1661-1664, pp.23-4 [Italian]. This and the following paragraphs on protocol are based on A. J. Loomie's account of Caroline practice. There is no account – at least that I am aware of – that covers practice at Charles II's court. The evidence available in primary sources suggest there had been little if any deviation from earlier, pre-Civil Wars, models; see Loomie, *Ceremonies of Charles I*, pp.27-8.

²⁸⁹ Pepys, x, p.447.

²⁹⁰ Pepys, x, p.448. For an account of this event see Ogilby, *His Majesties Entertainment*.

²⁹¹ For Williams role as diplomatic host, see *Kingdoms Intelligencer* (London, England; 1661), 30th Sep., 1661 – 7th Oct., 1661.

²⁹² Loomie, *Ceremonies of Charles I*, pp.27-8.

Whitehall; extending this highly visible and intensely theatrical civic spectacle across the whole of the city (see Figure 11).²⁹³ Or at least, that was the theory.²⁹⁴



²⁹³ This itinerary is reconstructed from Pepys's entries for 30th Sep., 1661, Pepys, ii, pp.186-9 and 27th Nov., 1662, Pepys, iii, pp.267-8. The same route was used for Charles' coronation, see J. Ogilby, *The Relation of His Majesties Entertainment* (London, 1661).

²⁹⁴ For incident free entrances see 5th Aug., 1661, n.s., London, Angelo Correr and Michiel Morosini to - , CSPV, 1661-4, p.23, and 17th Sep., 1668, De Beer, *Evelyn*, iii, p.515.

Figure 9 – The Tower of London and its environs; details from Faithorne and Newcourt's map of London, 1658



Figure 10 – The Tower of London and its precincts: detail from John Roque's 1746 Map of London

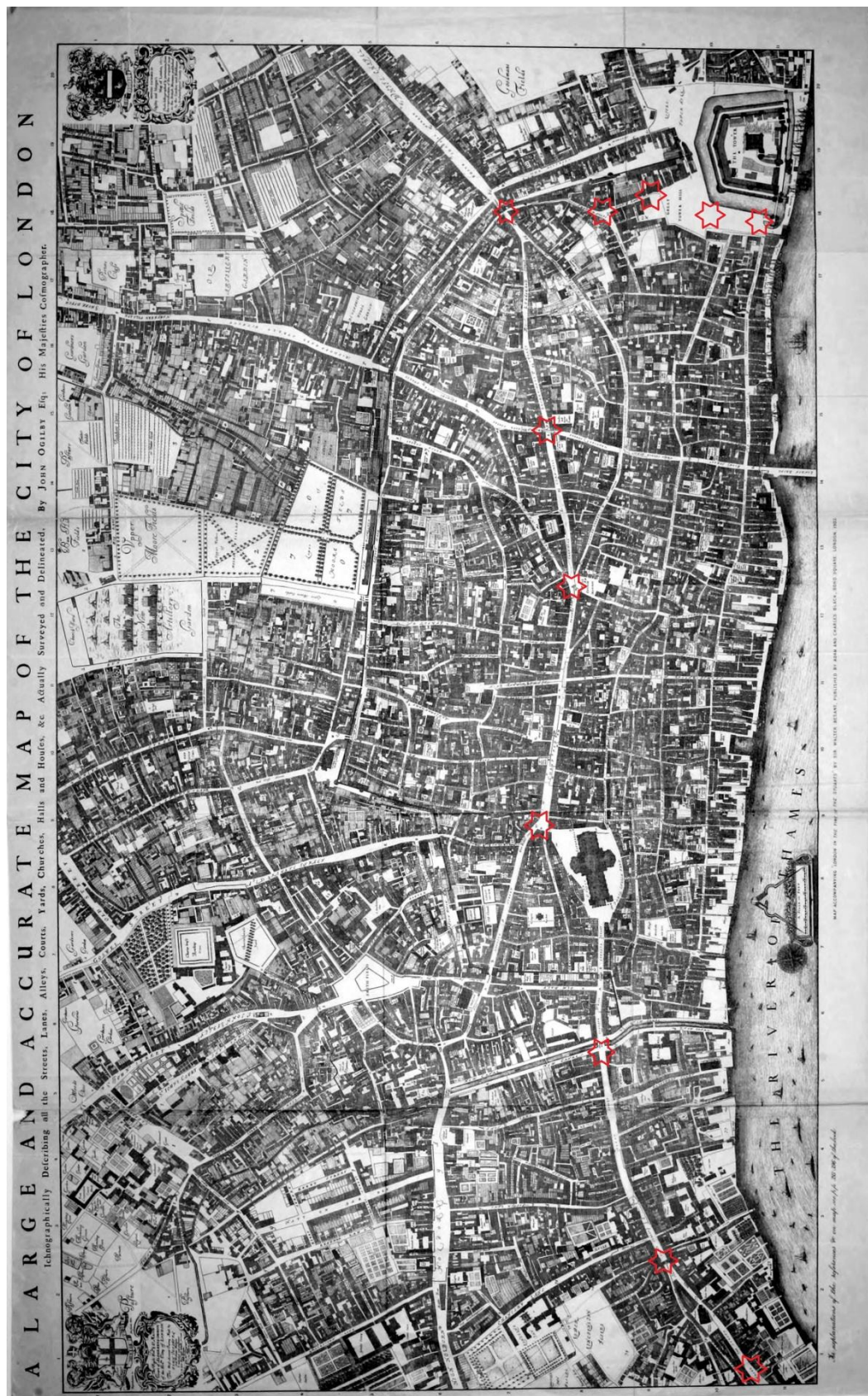


Figure 11 – Ceremonial route of ambassadorial entrances from the Tower of London to Whitehall: detail from John Ogilby's map of London (1670)

Some visual flavour of the spectacle that these events offered, (even allowing for artistic license) – at once dramatic and claustrophobic - is provided by the contemporary representation of the Prince de Ligne's entrance, as ambassador extraordinary from Spain, in 1660 (see Figure 12). Since this work remains in the hands of the descendants of de Ligne, at the Schloss Belœil in modern-day Belgium, it indicates that such events were considered to confer honour on ambassadors as well as the monarchs they represented. Similarly, its size, at just below 5m in length, suggests it was intended for public display. Although it is unclear whether he was physically present at this entrance, Thomas Rugge recorded this event in his diurnal, commenting that, '[the] prince de ligne came into London very nobly...[accompanied by] 30 footmen, 12 pages in velvet cloaks and seven others in very rich liverys & 6 horses in each coach which belonged to the Counts that came along with him whose foot men was in very noble liverys his lay [stay] at Camden House London'; adding, as both an indication of local expectations of ambassadorial hospitality and an approving record of Spanish public diplomacy, that Ligne, 'kept a noble table for all persons of quality of our English nation'.²⁹⁵ Pepys does not record attending this entrance but did make de Ligne's subsequent audience, considering it, 'done in very great state'; another incident that was captured on canvas.²⁹⁶

²⁹⁵ Sep., 1660, BL Add MS 10,116, f.118.

²⁹⁶ 17th Sep., 1660, Pepys, i, p.247.



Figure 12 – The entrance of the Prince de Ligne, Spanish Ambassador Extraordinary: François du Chastel (Duchatel), *Der Einzug des Prinzen de Ligne in London 1660*, Leinwand, Breite 4.82 m. Schloss Belœil

Just over a year after the events described here, in late November 1662, Pepys does record attending such an event: the arrival of the embassy from Muscovy. His typically rich account - the entrance constitutes the main topic of the day's entry - commences, 'Up...and so to the office, where we sat till noon; and then we all went to the next house upon Tower Hill, to see the coming by of the Russia Ambassador'. Here Pepys indicates both the proximity of Tower Hill to the Navy Board office in Seething Lane - the sense that this was at once a local, civic, national, and even international event - and the expansion of the audience for such rituals beyond those immediately present at Tower Wharf. Pepys next turned his gaze to the other members of that audience, noting, 'all the City trained-bands do attend in the streets, and the King's life- guards, and most of the wealthy citizens in their black velvet coats, and gold chains (which remain of their gallantry at the King's coming in)'; the last comment, echoing as it does contemporary theatrical practice, nicely illustrating the link between the entrance and other civic rituals, as well as their obvious theatricality. More generally, Pepys list of attendees gives a notion of the scale, visibility and importance of such events in the civic life of Restoration London, and the mutuality of display: between monarchs certainly, but also by 'the wealthy citizens' of the capital as its representatives. After some delay, presumably not unusual, Pepys continues, 'after I had dined, I heard they were coming, and so I walked to the Conduit...at the end of Gracious-street and Cornhill; and there...I saw them pretty well go by. I could not see the Ambassador in his coach; but his attendants in their habits and fur caps very handsome, comely men, and most of them with hawkes upon their fists to present to the King. In addition to the exotic nature of this cultural encounter (with a hint perhaps of 'orientalism'), this, once more, seems to emphasize the popularity of such events as a form of civic entertainment as much as state ceremony. Indeed, the entry helpfully finishes with an observation on the local reception of this monarchical-civic-diplomatic ritual. Showing admirable self-awareness, Pepys concluded his account, 'But Lord! to see the absurd nature of Englishmen, that cannot forbear laughing and jeering at every thing that looks strange.'²⁹⁷ Beyond providing an additional example of the well-established xenophobia of early modern Londoners, this response hints at the risks that those participating in such public displays ran. Here the intended display of majesty was undermined by a form of counter-display (although in those case no worse than 'laughing and jeering').

Diplomatic Disorders

²⁹⁷ 27th Nov., 1662, Pepys, iii, pp.267-8.

If the entry of 'the Swede' failed to fit the ceremonial blueprint, it was also widely anticipated. A week before the event the Venetian Resident reported to his masters that, 'The ambassador extraordinary of Sweden, who was said to be in England weeks ago, was driven away from these coasts by a storm...appeared unexpectedly in the Thames and is now at Gravesend, intending to make his public entry next week'; adding, 'on which occasion they expect broils between the ambassadors of France and Spain for the precedence of their coaches', before concluding, 'there will certainly be mischief, as both sides are making great preparations'.²⁹⁸ On the day of the Swede's arrival, Pepys – indicating both foreknowledge of the event and evidence of its unfolding – noted, 'Our King, I heard hath ordered that no Englishman should meddle in the business, but let them do what they would', adding, 'all the soldiers were in arms all the day long, and some of the train[ed]-bands...and a great bustle through the City'.²⁹⁹ At Whitehall, he 'saw the soldiers and people running up and down the streets', and then proceeded to the two ambassadors' residences – York House and Exeter House on either side of the Strand – 'and there saw great preparation on both sides'. Anticipating his later assessment – if not predicting the correct result – he added, 'but the French made the most noise and vaunted most, the other made no stir almost at all; so that I was afeared the other would have too great a conquest over them'.³⁰⁰ The identical accounts of events subsequently provided by the *Kingdomes Intelligencer* and *Mercurius Publicus* noted that, 'twas very confidently given out that there would be a contest between the *French* and *Spanish* Ambassadors for precedence (which reasonably might be suspected, in regard the Ambassadors from those two Crowns have too often had Heats and Disputes, even to Bloud, upon the same occasion in most Courts of Christendome)'.³⁰¹ It would have taken neither Pepys' intelligence (in either sense) nor his contacts in government for anyone within local community to gather what was likely to happen; that after all was the purpose of such public display. Latham and Matthews simply note, 'everyone expected trouble'.³⁰²

This expectation of added entertainment seems to have contributed to the size of the crowd. In addition to Pepys' record of the 'bustle' on the streets, Thomas Rugge recorded 'so numerous a body of english scots and Irish as well as french and Spanish... al along up the [i.e. Tower] hill', whilst a subsequent authorized printed account, written by John Evelyn, observed

²⁹⁸ 30th Sep., 1661, n.s., London, Francesco Giavarina to - , *CSPV*, 1661-4, p.48.

²⁹⁹ 30th Sep., 1661, Pepys, ii, p.187.

³⁰⁰ 30th Sep., 1661, Pepys, ii, p.188.

³⁰¹ *Mercurius Publicus* (London, England; 1661), 26th Sep., - 3rd Oct., 1661; Issue 39; *Kingdomes Intelligencer* (London, England; 1661), 30th Sep., 30, 1661 – 7th Oct., 1661.

³⁰² 30th Sep., 1661, Pepys, ii, p.187, n.2.

that 'many thousand Spectators came to behold this strange and desperate Conflict'.³⁰³ Perhaps the only surviving eye-witness account – that of Francesco Giavarina – opens giving no indication of what would follow: 'On Monday was the public entry of the ambassador extraordinary of Sweden, very stately and decorous for the train of coaches and his large household.'³⁰⁴ In fact, those assembled were not disappointed, as the account continued, 'the [Swedish] ambassador having mounted into the royal coach the parties immediately began to fight for precedence'; whilst Evelyn's *True Relation*, in more heightened prose, noted, 'in a few hours the Scene of this Tragedy was exceedingly changed; and immediately upon the Theatre a more [most] desperate effusion of blood'.³⁰⁵ Feiling, in characteristic fashion, described what followed as, 'A wild day in London'.³⁰⁶

It seems clear that the French considerably outnumbered and outgunned their opponents, although exactly who the participants and who the spectators were became a matter of contention itself (see below). The most detailed narrative comes from Giavarina, who noted that, 'The French ambassador got together all the French in London, no small number, and forming as it were an army of several hundreds, on foot and horse, sent his coach so accompanied'. By contrast, 'The Spaniard collected the Flemings and Walloons, who are not numerous, and with very inferior forces sent his coach followed only by men on foot, armed with swords and sticks, without any firearms'; an imbalance in forces that reflected both the greater proximity France and (clearly not unconnected to this) the larger presence of Frenchmen in London.³⁰⁷ Pepys' account is generally in accord with this, estimating it, 'very observable, the French were at least four to one in number...And had one near 100 case of pistols among them, and the Spaniards had not one gun among them'.³⁰⁸ Using Giavarina's and Pepys' estimates suggests that those directly involved in the ensuing conflict must have numbered at least five hundred; and perhaps twice as many. The Church of Ireland bishop, John Parker thought, 'the [French] party...three times more numerous than the Spaniard'.³⁰⁹ Although of the immediate observers only he recorded the later claims regarding local participation, informing Bramhall that, 'I hear some of our English butchers assisted the

³⁰³ Sep., 1661, BL Add MS 10,116, ff.254v; [J. Evelyn], *A true relation...* (London, 1661), p.4.

³⁰⁴ 14th Oct., 1661, Francesco Giavarina to -, *CSPV*, 1661-1664, p.54.

³⁰⁵ 14th Oct., 1661, Francesco Giavarina to -, *CSPV*, 1661-1664, p.55; [Evelyn], *True Relation*, p.4

³⁰⁶ Feiling, *British Foreign Policy*, p.43.

³⁰⁷ 14th Oct., 1661, Francesco Giavarina to -, *CSPV*, 1661-1664, pp.54-5.

³⁰⁸ 30th Sep., 1661, Pepys, ii, p.189.

³⁰⁹ 1st Oct., 1661, London, John Parker, Bishop of Elphin to John Bramhall, Archbishop of Armagh, Dublin, *HMC Hastings IV*, p.113.

Spaniard, which was contrary to the King's order', before adding, more cautiously, 'but they are not known'.³¹⁰

Apparently confident of his advantage in numbers (including troops from Gravelines) and firepower – 'shock-and-awe' early modern style – D'Estrades appears to have fatally underestimated his opponent. Firstly, he made the simple error of ceding the most favourable position: proximate to the gate between Tower Wharf and Tower Hill. The newsbooks – catering to an audience more attuned to accounts and the intricacies of military conflicts – noted that, 'The Spanish Ambassador got some advantage by sending his [coach] thither early (before eleven of Clock) to possess the more commodious ground'.³¹¹ This obvious error later became the subject of critical discussion at Court, Giavarina noting, 'I heard his Majesty say to the nephew of Marshal Turenne, who is here, that Estrades, as a good soldier should have gone to see the site before the action, as Batteville had done, who went some days before to the Tower on the pretext of a walk, to view the place where the skirmish would take place'.³¹² In addition to gaining favourable position, the battle seems to have turned on a critical tactical manoeuvre – on which all the commentators (all bar Louis that is) agreed – although a seemingly minor one: the Spanish decision to shield the harnesses of their coach horses. Pepys noted that the Spaniards did, 'also...outwit them; first in lining their owne harnesses with chains of iron, that they could not be cut – then in setting their coach in the most advantageous place, and to appoint men to guard every one of their horses, and others for to guard the coach, and others the coachmen'. Having secured their own position, the Spaniards were then able to set 'upon the French horses and killing them, for by that means the French were not able to stir'.³¹³ Evelyn, presumably informed by Lord Berkeley, noted that 'the projects of the French [were] frustrated, and their Chivalry dissipated; notwithstanding that gallant Party of Horse, who advanced as far as the Kings Bridge at the Tower, yet were forced to a dishonourable Retreat, having their Horses gored by the Spanish Tucks, [and] their heads broken by several Brick bats'.³¹⁴ Giavarina similarly noted that, 'The French attacked the Spaniards, using muskets, pistols and carbines, contrary to the promise given to the king. The Spaniards met the attack with courage and finding by chance some bricks where they took up their position they seized them pelting the French and making them retire, and so with stones, sticks and swords drove them off three times, and in this way won the post and kept them

³¹⁰ 1st Oct., 1661, London, Parker to Bramhall, Dublin, HMC *Hastings* IV, p.113.

³¹¹ *Kingdomes Intelligencer* (London, England; 1661), 30th Sep., 1661 – 7th Oct., 1661; similar account in *Mercurius Publicus* (London, England; 1661), 26th Sep., - 3rd Oct., 1661; Issue 39.

³¹² 14th Oct., 1661, Francesco Giavarina to -, *CSPV*, 1661-1664, p.55.

³¹³ 30th Sep., 1661, Pepys, ii, p.189.

³¹⁴ [Evelyn], *True Relation*, pp.4-5.

always away from their coach and from the horses, guarded by three men each, the harness being chains covered with leather, to prevent its being cut, so that they could not receive the slightest hurt. The French, who had not taken such precautions found themselves in a moment in pieces, four of the six coach horses killed and the other two in a sorry state, so the coach was unable to follow the others.’³¹⁵

Despite an attempt by French latecomers to regain the initiative, having allowed the contest to proceed thus far, the English forces, at local or pre-arranged instigation, chose this moment to conclude the battle; apparently fearful of its escalation if the combatants were allowed onto Tower Hill proper, and then into the narrow streets of the capital beyond it. The official news-books thus commented that, ‘there and all along up the Hill were so numerous a body of English, Scots and Irish, as well as French and Spaniards (and already blood had been shed on both sides, which if permitted further, would not easily be stopp’d,) his Royal Highness Guards declared, they would fall on any man (without respect of person or countrey) that should offer to revive the quarrel further’.³¹⁶ It was only at this point that the ambassadorial entrance returned to something approaching normality, the coaches proceeding through the City to Westminster; the news-books noting somewhat primly, ‘After which all the Coaches (except such whose Harness was cut) went after the Swedish Ambassador to Sir Abraham Williams house in the Palace at Westminster’.³¹⁷ Again, it is Giavarina that gives a better flavour of the electric atmosphere and the true object of popular acclamation, when he informed his superiors that, ‘The Spanish one went alone escorted by a crowd, which came out of all the shops, applauding the event with words and cries, showing great affection for Spain, even ringing the bells in some places, and followed the coach to the very embassy’; (the bell ringing – although not implausible – may be a touch of artistic licence as it is not mentioned elsewhere).³¹⁸ Without realizing it, Giavarina had captured Pepys and his boy, Wayneman Birch, on the streets of London and assigned them to a collective subject, ‘the crowd’.

As the coaches (excepting the unfortunate French) left the field for Westminster, the respective casualties were totted up. Pepys’ estimate of the respective casualties was at the low-end of the range, ‘There were several men slain of the French, and one or two of the Spaniards, and one Englishman by a bullet’. This disparity might reflect the speed with which

³¹⁵ 14th Oct., 1661, Francesco Giavarina to -, *CSPV*, 1661-1664, p.55; for a similar account see, 1st Oct., 1661, London, Parker to Bramhall, Dublin, *HMC Hastings IV*, p.113; *Kingdomes Intelligencer* (London, England; 1661), 30th Sep., 1661 – 7th Oct., 1661.

³¹⁶ *Kingdomes Intelligencer* (London, England; 1661), 30th Sep., 1661 – 7th Oct., 1661.

³¹⁷ *Kingdomes Intelligencer* (London, England; 1661), 30th Sep., 1661 – 7th Oct., 1661.

³¹⁸ 14th Oct., 1661, Francesco Giavarina to -, *CSPV*, 1661-1664, p.55.

he wrote up his account – wounds in early modern warfare proving more deadly than in later conflicts.³¹⁹ Parker put the casualties at, ‘three of their horses with the postilion belonging to the French ambassador’s coach killed, divers of the French killed, many wounded.’³²⁰ Whilst, Giavarina, with due professional interest (and insider’s knowledge), recorded the quality as well as quantity of the losses, informing his masters, ‘On the two sides six or seven were killed and many wounded, including the brother-in-law and son of the French ambassador, the first with a sword in the leg and the other with a stone in the stomach’.³²¹ In what appears to be a rare departure from the printed accounts his entry was based upon, Rugge noted, ‘if you Ask how many were slaine; pray excuse mee for neither side have been willing to declare others that were theire did agree that eleven on both sides killed in the place but very many more wounded’. It is unclear here whether Rugge means eleven fatalities in total or eleven on each side (the former seems the more likely reading).³²² Evelyn, drawing on information provided by Sir William Compton and Lord Berkeley, estimated that, ‘it was the Fortune of the Mounsieurs to receive the greatest loss, five being translated out of this World into another, and above thirty wounded, with the loss of one Spaniard, and very few wounded’.³²³

(Un)diplomatic Publics

If Louis’ action should be considered as a clear example of what I have termed public diplomacy, it also reveals its dialectical counterpart: a diplomatic public. Hence, commenting on public ceremonial more generally but in terms that remain appropriate in this instance, James Amelang has noted that in the early modern period, ‘Urban ritual served in fact as a two-way street, a means of sending messages back and forth within civic society’.³²⁴ For whilst Louis’ all-too-public display undoubtedly generated public acclamation, it was not of the sort he intended. In fact, those present appear to have vocally supported the Spanish contingent. Pepys, after dining [i.e. lunching] in Westminster, saw the victorious coach and party returning to the Spanish embassy [at York House on the Strand], ‘in great state’, ‘with 50 drawne swords at least to guard it and our souldiers shouting for joy’.³²⁵ His narrative gives a sense of the movement of the local spectators as the day’s events unfolded. Attempting to catch up with the protagonists, he noted, ‘I [ran] after them with my boy, through all the dirt and the streets

³¹⁹ 30th Sep., 1661, Pepys, ii, p.189.

³²⁰ 1st Oct., 1661, London, Parker to John Bramhall, HMC *Hastings* IV, p.113.

³²¹ 14th Oct., 1661, Francesco Giavarina to -, CSPV, 1661-1664, p.55.

³²² Sep., 1661, BL Add MS 10,116, ff.253v-4v.

³²³ [Evelyn], *True Relation*, p.6.

³²⁴ J. Amelang, “Cities and Foreigners” in Calabi and Christensen, *Cities*, p.50.

³²⁵ 30th Sep., 1661, Pepys, ii, p.188.

full of people'; returning home later, 'very much dawbed with dirt'.³²⁶ The Venetian ambassador similarly reported that, in marked contrast to the popular acclamation afforded to the Spanish, 'it was noted that the [French] coach on its return to the embassy, although it followed another route was followed by a crowd throwing mud and making indecent and improper remarks'; and, as noted above, Parker reported the rumour of local assistance – by the local butchers; a well-armed profession – for the Spanish.³²⁷ Indeed there are suggestions that, like other early modern crowds, this one did not merely spectate, but participated more actively in the event – an interpretation, as will be discussed below, that became central to French representations of the melee at both the London periphery and Parisian centre. All these accounts give a sense of the manner in which this supposedly diplomatic ritual had taken a decidedly carnivalesque turn. There is almost something here – on the level of diplomatic relations and national identity – akin to other early modern shaming rituals; the 'skimmingtons' and 'rough music' that David Underdown and other social historians have considered to be critical to maintaining cultural norms.³²⁸ It serves as a reminder that the circulation of political information and creation of political meaning was not restricted to courts and coffeehouses, but played out in a variety of public settings. Derek Keene has noted that, 'in many European cities streets and market-places have been prime sites for the reception and of new information...as well as for the proclamation of political and ideological norms'.³²⁹ This was the case here, where Louis's public display of French diplomatic power had been met not so much with uncritical acclamation, but a demotic counter-display of Francophobic derision.

If this incident demonstrates the staging of a diplomatic display and counter-display, it also reveals a public discourse on diplomatic and dynastic matters, since beyond those original actors, this event opened up a discursive space; an evanescent public sphere. Indeed accounts of this event can be seen rippling out from its original point of impact, in the City itself, to reach ever wider audiences. Pepys of course, demonstrates the oral circulation of the incident; both when he first heard about it that morning in the environs of the Court at the Red Lyon in Westminster, and later at home in Seething Lane in the City, where, he notes 'I vexed my wife

³²⁶ 30th Sep., 1661, Pepys, ii, pp.188 & 189.

³²⁷ 14th Oct., 1661, Francesco Giavarina to -, *CSPV*, 1661-1664, p.55; 1st Oct., 1661, London, Parker to Bramhall, *HMC Hastings IV*, p.113.

³²⁸ D. Underdown, *Revel, riot, and rebellion : popular politics and culture in England 1603-1660* (Oxford, 1985).

³²⁹ D. Keene, "Cities and cultural exchange" in Calabi & Christensen, *Cities*, p.5.

in telling her this story and pleading for the Spaniard against the French' – Elizabeth Pepys was herself French.³³⁰ A little under a week later, Pepys recorded a conversation with 'Mons. Eschar' [Esquier; servant to Sandwich's cousin and namesake, Edward Mountagu], where the latter made, 'a great complaint against the English, that they did help the Spaniards against the French the other day'. Eschar/Esquier informed the company of D'Estrades' imminent departure, prompting Pepys to note, 'which I, and all that I met with, are very glad of'; suggesting both the continued unpopularity of the French ambassador and on-going discussion of recent events.³³¹ Moving beyond London, Bishop Parker's letter to John Bramhall in Dublin, informing him of, 'a great battle here upon the *intrados* made by the Swedish ambassador, the Spanish and French in the solemnity contending for place', indicates how this news was relayed textually, through various communicative networks, in this instance episcopal, to a wider audience; on this occasion in another part of the Three Kingdoms.³³² Indeed the widespread interest in this event was confirmed by the publication of a broadside ballad account: the self-explanatory, *The Haughty Frenchmens Pride Abased* (see Figure 13); both the sign of an anticipated market for, and a further publication of, these events. The editorial note, that this was to be sung to the tune of *My Love is gone to Jamaica*, suggests how this print publication might have led to another to another form of oral performance; and perhaps to other audiences. Tessa Watt's observation that 'ballads could travel the length and breadth of the country', indicates the wider geographical reach such publication might ensure.³³³ Finally, the desire of the government to exercise interpretative control of events is evident in two interventions in this public debate. Firstly, both the official weekly print publications, *Mercurius Publicus* and *The Kingdomes Intelligencer*, carried accounts of the event.³³⁴ Secondly, the government sponsored the print publication of a pamphlet authored by John Evelyn. Entitled *A True Relation*, this provided an extended and more colourful rendering of events than that offered in the economical prose of the news-books. This was simultaneously or subsequently reprinted in Edinburgh, presumably to satisfy Scottish interest in an officially-authorized manner.³³⁵ Indeed it was these accounts that Thomas Rugge appears to have transcribed into his diurnal, although, as ever, Rugge provided his own headline - on this

³³⁰ 30th Sep., 1661, Pepys, ii, p.189.

³³¹ 4th Oct., 1661, Pepys; for confirmation of D'Estrades unpopularity amongst Londoners see, 'They say that because of the animosity shown against him [i.e. D'Estrades] in this city he thinks of going to France, leaving his secretary here to attend to the embassy, but this is not certain', 14th Oct., 1661, Francesco Giavarina to -, CSPV, 1661-1664, p.55.

³³² 1st Oct., 1661, Parker to Bramhall, HMC *Hastings* IV, p.113.

³³³ T. Watt, "Publisher, pedlar, pot-poet: the changing character of the broadside trade, 1550 – 1640", in R. Myers & M. Harris (ed.), *Spreading the Word: The Distribution Networks of Print, 1550 – 1850* (London, 1998), p.61.

³³⁴ *Kingdomes Intelligencer* (London, England; 1661), 30th Sep., 1661 – 7th Oct., 1661; *Mercurius Publicus* (London, England; 1661), 26th Sep., - 3rd Oct., 1661; Issue 39.

³³⁵ [Evelyn], *True Relation*.

occasion, 'The Spanish and french fight att Tower hill about the right hand'.³³⁶ The events on Tower Hill were now, however briefly, a matter of public discourse, an element in a tri-national conversation.

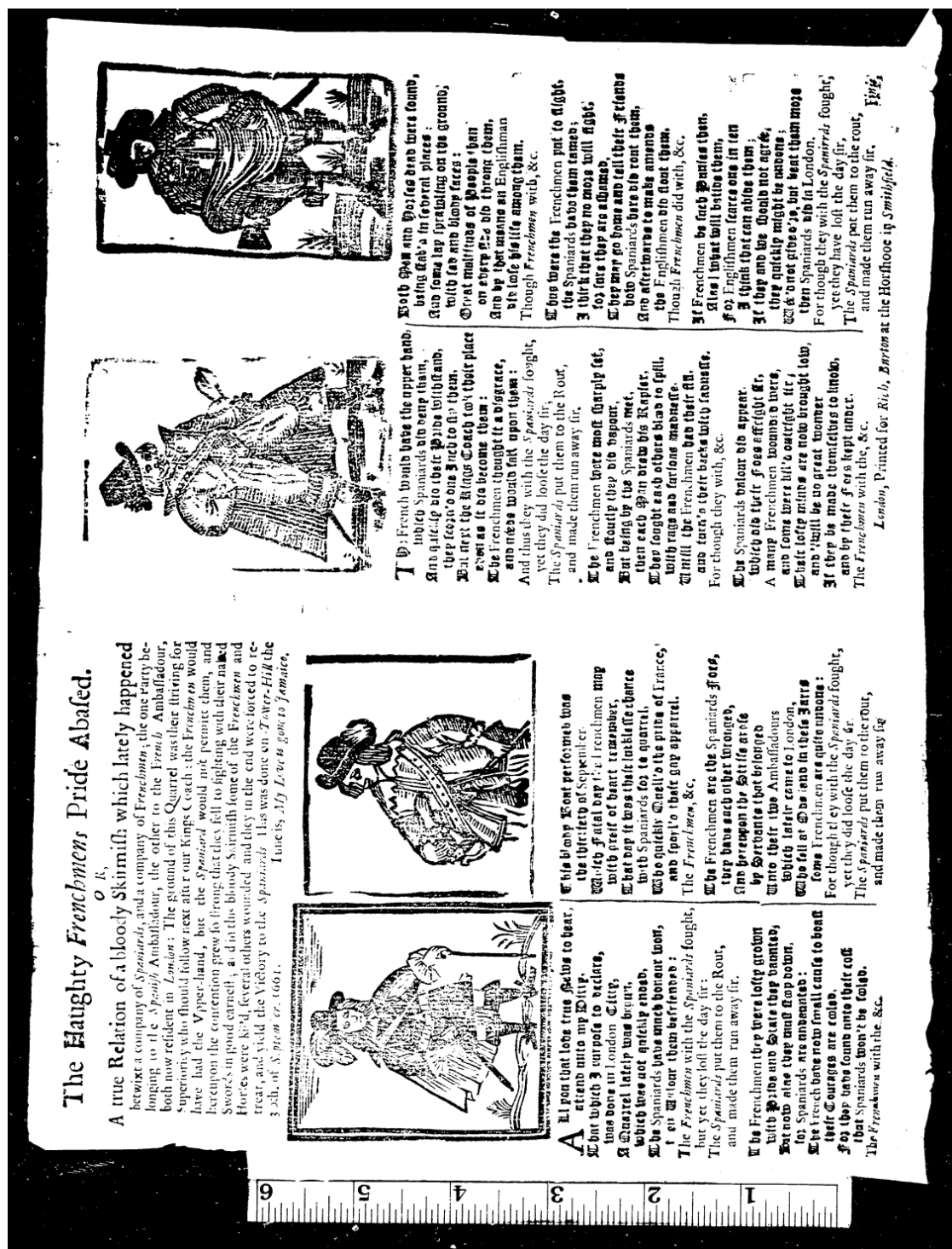


Figure 13 – [Anon], *The Haughty Frenchmens Pride Abased* (London, 1661)

³³⁶ BL Add MS 10,116, ff.253v-254v. Rugge's use of the term, 'the right hand', here seems to allude to the politics of perambulation, i.e. the question of who would cede way in a public encounter; a suggestion that we should not consider issues of precedence solely an issue of the diplomatic sphere.

All these accounts indicate a dislike of the French in general and their 'shame' in this incident in particular. These views were either expressed with positive approbation or simply in a descriptive fashion, and nowhere seem to have been questioned. Thus for all his inclination to soliloquize, Pepys felt no need within his text to explain his assertion that 'we do all naturally love the Spanish and hate the French' – it was clearly both self-evident, and perceived to be universal; at least within some larger public (or by some collective subject) that Pepys, unhelpfully, does not delimit.³³⁷ Parker agreed, noting – although in a more detached mode; he was an Anglo-Irish Protestant – 'I find they [i.e. the London crowd] have generally more kindness for the Spaniard than French'; whilst the Giavarina commented on 'the inveterate hatred of the English against the French'.³³⁸ Even Louis, who in his later reflections was keen to question the sincerity of the local reaction, had to admit that the London crowd was, 'already ill-disposed toward the French'.³³⁹ The incident itself seems only to have confirmed these national stereotypes, or prejudices, but, worse still for Louis, these were expressed in the language of 'shame', 'dishonour', and 'ridicule'. On the day of the battle, Pepys went to the French embassy, noting, 'I observe still that there is no men in the world of a more insolent spirit where they do well or before they begin a matter, and more abject if they do miscarry, then these people are'; and judged the battle 'for their [i.e. Spanish] honour for ever...and the others [i.e. the French] disgrace'.³⁴⁰ Parker agreed that, 'the [French] party (though three times more numerous than the Spaniard) [was] shamefully beaten'.³⁴¹ Even the officially authorized *True Relation* could not avoid this vocabulary of 'credit', observing that the French were 'forced to a dishonourable Retreat'; and adding that, 'it is not the number of men, but heroic hearts' which had won the day.³⁴² In rather less decorous language, *The Haughty Frenchmen Abased*, rhymed: 'The Frenchmen with the Spaniards fought,/But yet they lost the day sir:/The Spaniards put [them] to the Rout,/and made them run away sir'.³⁴³

³³⁷ 30th Sep., 1661, Pepys, ii, p.188; on returning home Pepys, in characteristically tactless fashion, 'vexed' his French wife 'in telling of her this story and pleading for the Spaniard against the French', p.189.

³³⁸ 1st Oct., 1661, Parker to Bramhall, HMC *Hastings* IV, p.113; 14th Oct., 1661, Francesco Giavarina to - , CSPV, 1661-1664, p.55; for Parker's biographical details, see J. Gilbert, "Parker, John (d. 1681)", rev. J. Mc Elligott, *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004) [<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/view/article/21317>, accessed 28 July 2013].

³³⁹ *Memoires*, p.71.

³⁴⁰ 30th Sep., 1661, Pepys, ii, p.189.

³⁴¹ 1st Oct., 1661, Parker to Bramhall, HMC *Hastings* IV, p.113.

³⁴² [Evelyn], *True Relation*, pp.5 & 6.

³⁴³ Anon., *The Haughty Frenchmen Abased*.

Dislike of the French whilst abundantly clear requires some further investigation (an alternative explanation will be discussed below). This cannot simply be dismissed as an expression of xenophobia. This phenomenon was certainly common enough in London, and a familiar complaint amongst foreign visitors. In 1669, for instance, Lorenzo Magalotti, visiting from Tuscany, observed that Londoners 'were proud, arrogant and uncivil to foreigners': although he qualified this general prejudice by adding, 'especially the French'.³⁴⁴ (Clearly this anti-French sentiment should not be considered in any way exclusive: Londoners appear to have been generous in this respect at least). Xenophobia alone would hardly explain the, if not unanimous, at least unambiguous hostility towards the French. In fact, the support expressed for the Spanish is, at least on the surface, surprising. Spain had been the principal foreign enemy of the late Elizabethan and the early Stuart periods: the object of the 'black legend', and alongside the Pope, the Jesuits and English Catholic 'fifth columnists', party (allegedly) to a conspiracy to extirpate English liberties. In the field of diplomacy, accounts of Gondomar's stay in London were still a part of lived memory as well as available in accounts like Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, a favourite work of Pepys.³⁴⁵ Furthermore, England, in alliance with France, had been at war with Spain as recently as the previous year. Yet despite this there was no evidence – either on the streets or in subsequent discourse - of antipathy towards the Spanish but overwhelming proof of hostility towards their opponents. Perhaps contemporaries were aware of the diplomatic watershed that historians have posited around 1660 after all (see above).

The footnote on this event in the Latham & Matthews edition (presumably written by Robert Latham), suggests two possible causes for the anti-French bias exhibited, namely, 'because the French were more commonly to be seen in London and were more serious competitors for jobs with the Londoners'.³⁴⁶ On the latter basis, the antipathy that all the commentators here noted was directed towards the French immigrant community in London rather than at France itself; and, as such was only tangentially related to Louis' diplomatic manoeuvres; now simply the occasion rather than cause of the disturbance. This cause, an essentially local and primarily economic explanation – although expressed in culturally-specific terms - should certainly not be discounted. Whether it might explain the supposed involvement of local butchers is less obvious. Hence James Amelang has noted in relation to late medieval as well as early modern cities, 'That foreigners could constitute a threat to local interests was a perception most easily

³⁴⁴ Quoted in Pepys, ii, p.188, n.4.

³⁴⁵ On Pepys interest in Rushworth's *Collections* see, Pepys, iv, pp.395, 402, 406, 408, 411, 417, 421, 434 & 435, vi, p.10.

³⁴⁶ Pepys, ii, p.188, n.4.

found in the everyday worlds of production and trade'.³⁴⁷ In Amelang's reading, 'economics' is not a crudely reductive factor – the tiresome straw-man of revisionist rhetoric – but one amongst many intertwined levels of explanation for understanding quotidian practice. And there are plentiful examples across the early modern period of 'riotous' behaviour (or collective action) directed against immigrant communities to support such an explanation: the riots by London weavers in 1675 offering a proximate case.³⁴⁸

Yet, taken alone, economic competition hardly seems sufficient to explain the depth and breadth of Francophobia in Pepys' London; to explain, to return to it once more, why Pepys should claim, 'and we do all naturally hate the French'. Pepys for instance visited the French Churches in London on a number of occasions, and never felt the need to express dislike, let alone hatred, for the congregation.³⁴⁹ Here Latham's first, almost throwaway, explanation for the crowd's apparently unequivocal response to the diplomatic spectacle, and its echo in the subsequent public discussion of the events, 'because the French were more commonly seen in London', is critical.³⁵⁰ Indeed contemporary observers provided another piece of evidence for the spectators' disposition. In his report on the diplomatic spat, Giavarina noted, 'This happened also because a few days before the insolent footmen of Estrades had had a scuffle with some watermen with some fatalities'; adding the following intriguing editorial comment, 'and because, a la mode de Paris, they will not let any one alone'.³⁵¹ Whilst indicating the local context, Giavarina's own comments regarding 'the insolent footmen' and the Parisian 'a la mode', suggests a more general perception regarding both French behaviour and French national identity than one might expect from the actions of few rogue footmen in London. The French diplomats' actions certainly move the subsequent expressions of Francophobia a step closer to French policy, and particularly to Louis's increasingly aggressive brand of diplomacy. It seems possible, in fact, that the ballad, *The Haughty Frenchmens Pride Abased*, if not a direct comment on this type of behaviour, reflects an undercurrent of popular prejudice against public instances of French aggression.

Pepys' diary also hints at a more ubiquitous antipathy to the French than can be explained purely by reference to such local incidents however. Incidents such as those involving the

³⁴⁷ J. Amelang, "Cities and foreigners", in Calabi & Christensen, *Cities*, p.50.

³⁴⁸ See Harris, *London Crowds*, Ch. 8.

³⁴⁹ Pepys, x, p.151.

³⁵⁰ Pepys, ii, p.188, n.4.

³⁵¹ 14th Oct., 1661, Francesco Giavarina to -, *CSPV*, 1661-1664, pp.55; see also his comment, 'his [i.e. D'Estrades'] people are so detested for many insolences that several believe he will try to have another sent in his place, and that his king will grant this without difficulty', 21st Oct., 1661, *CSPV*, 1661-1664, p.58.

footmen and D'Estrades' hapless cohort provided support for this Francophobic discourse, just as they, in turn, were interpreted by reference to it (a kind of diplomatic hermeneutic circle). This antipathy, I would suggest, was based, as Latham's foot-note indicated, on the pervasiveness of both the French and French influence in Pepys' London. This presence was on a scale unparalleled by any other foreign power or culture. Spain, for instance, barely figures in Pepys' diary notwithstanding his pride in his command of its language and interest in its literature.³⁵² Even the Dutch, the other leg of the critical Anglo-French-Dutch relationship, are nowhere near proximate in influence or simply presence to the French notwithstanding Pincus's claims to the contrary.³⁵³ This presence extended from French-derived communities in the capital – for instance Pepys' wife, Elizabeth, and in-laws, the St Michels – through French visitors, whether official, such as D'Estrades and his embassy, or unofficial, to the cultural influence exercised by French models. To give just one example, early in 1663, Pepys noted a trip to King's Head in Westminster, 'where much good company. Among the rest a young gallant lately come from France, who was full of his French, but methought not very good, but he had enough to make him think himself a wise man a great while': an indication of the everyday association, at least in some circles, between prowess in the French language, cultural capital and social prestige.³⁵⁴ Moving away from Pepys, such emulation and anxiety – what the literary critic Harold Bloom famously termed 'the anxiety of influence' – is never far from the surface in Restoration cultural production. It is evident, for example, in Dryden's uneasy ambivalence towards French cultural hegemony in his *Essay on Dramatic Poesy*. Similarly, Evelyn's jocular criticism of his countrymen's apish emulation of French fashions sits awkwardly alongside his translation of French texts. It is more obvious still in the open hostility of Thomas Sprat to Samuel Sorbier's hostile account of the Royal Society and Sir Robert Howard's knockabout mockery of 'Frenchified' City fops in *The Country Gentlemen*.³⁵⁵ Thus Robert Hume and Harold Love have commented that, 'The English view of France and the French is always conflicted in the late seventeenth century. France was a large, rich, powerful, dangerous neighbour, both feared and envied. A writer like Dryden resists, apes, envies, and

³⁵² For Pepys' interest in Spanish books, see inter alia, 'staying a little in Paul's Churchyard, at the foreign Bookseller's looking over some Spanish books, and with much ado keeping myself from laying out money there', 27th Mar., 1663, Pepys, iv, p.87.

³⁵³ See, Pincus, "Butterboxes".

³⁵⁴ 26th Feb., 1663, Pepys, iv, p.58.

³⁵⁵ J. Dryden, *Of Dramatic Poesie, An Essay* (London, 1668); [J. Evelyn], *A Character of England. As it was lately presented in a letter, to a Noble Man of France* (London, 1659); Sprat, T., *Observations on M. de Sorbier's Voyage into England* (London, 1665); for *The Country Gentleman*, see Hume & Love, *Buckingham*, vol. i.

filches from the French'.³⁵⁶ As Hume and Love make explicit, this was not merely a question of presence leading to comparison, but one where that comparison revealed English inadequacy and inferiority. This was reflected in political anxieties at this time, and more so in the 1670s, that England was becoming not merely a cultural, but a political (and perhaps religious) satellite of the Sun King; anxieties that, it turns out, were well-founded. Indeed, Giavarina's snipe about 'insolent footmen' and behaviour 'à la mode' is suggestive of a more widespread reaction to French power that extended well beyond England's coastline.³⁵⁷ Given this uneasy relationship to French influence, it is easy to understand how such an open display of French diplomatic – and military – power, particularly when pursued so ineffectively, might trigger so vociferous, even carnivalesque, Francophobic expressions. Here the particular actions of the French diplomats become additive to this more general discourse on English national identity and foreignness; of 'self' and 'other'. In fact, adding this dimension creates an explanatory model for the disposition of the spectators – including Pepys – that combines the specifically local with national and international contexts, and economic with social, cultural and political factors. This type of analysis helps to make sense of the tension between the everyday imitation of the French with occasional, and cathartic, anti-French self-fashioning. This might also explain Evelyn's otherwise perplexing decision to conclude his *True Relation* of a conflict between Frenchmen and Spaniards in contemporary London with a reference to that most famous of *English* victories over the French: the Battle of Agincourt.³⁵⁸

There is one additional thing to note here about these descriptions, although in this instance it is an absence rather than a presence. Anti-popery does not form a discernible part of the criticisms levelled at the French (although it is possible that there is a link between certain negative attributes attached to the French and those typically attached to Catholics).³⁵⁹ In one sense this is readily explicable. The fact that both sides to the conflict represented Catholic monarchs ('the most Christian King' vs. 'the most Catholic') rendered Catholicism – as a mark of differentiation, explanatory category or facet of national identity – of limited value. Nonetheless, such rhetorical niceties were not typically observed in 17th century polemic. Alternatively, this oversight might seem to offer *prima facie* support for Steve Pincus's

³⁵⁶ Hume & Love, *Buckingham*, I, p.251. There is surely an ironic echo here of contemporary anti-Americanism, most obviously in France: an at once paradoxical yet logical admixture of imitation, self-loathing and cultural bravado. I would like to thank Peter Lake for discussing this point.

³⁵⁷ See Black, *A History of Diplomacy*, p.79.

³⁵⁸ [Evelyn], *True Relation*, pp.6-7.

³⁵⁹ Although taking this a step further, it might be the case that the negative qualities generally attributed to Catholics were stock negative qualities attributed to the negative pole of any binary relationship.

argument for the secularization of English foreign policy in this period.³⁶⁰ The fact that successive aspirants for universal monarchy – in the eyes of many Englishmen at least – were not represented in an explicitly confessionalized fashion in any of the accounts is certainly noteworthy. Tempting as Pincus's schema is, a more plausible explanation is available. For reasons domestic and international, the two spheres naturally being interconnected, this was simply not a period in Restoration politics when anti-popery was a significant ideological factor or the external world considered especially threatening. Domestically, Protestant non-conformity, however measured, was a greater issue; and the conclusion of confessional conflict on the Continent – if that was what the Thirty Years' War essentially was – and indeed of conflict more generally, meant that domestic considerations were unusually dominant at this time. Similarly, Louis at this time was still respecting the Edict of Nantes, 'more or less' – drawing the sting of such anti-popish representations - and some Dissenters argued that they were worse off than the French Huguenots were under a supposedly 'absolutist' monarch.³⁶¹ War with France in the latter part of the decade, and Louis's more aggressive (militarily-aggressive that is) conduct of foreign policy after 1667, would radically alter that situation.

Transnational Publics

Unsurprisingly, the aftershocks of this event were not contained within England, let alone its capital city, but reverberated across Europe: an audience that included but was not restricted to monarchs, statesmen and diplomats. Diplomatic networks were abuzz with reports of this event and speculation as to how Louis would respond to this public humiliation; an effect that can be most readily traced through the correspondence of Giavarina's Continental counterparts.³⁶² Hence, on the 9th October (old style), a week after the event, Alvise Grimani, Venetian Ambassador at the French Court, wrote back to Venice that, 'On Saturday evening a courier arrived from England at the Court sent by the Ambassador de l'Estrade[s]'; an account that differed (see below) significantly from those now circulating in Britain. (Incidentally, Grimani confirmed D'Estrades' deployment of troops from Gravelines, adding, 'so that he had a great many more than the other, and accordingly he hoped to achieve his purpose'). Grimani also reported the French belief that, rather than a case of the periphery determining policy at the centre, Batteville had been instructed from Madrid, thus raising the diplomatic stakes

³⁶⁰ Pincus, *P&P*, Ch. 16.

³⁶¹ I would like to thank Professor Miller for pointing this out. For similar, though not identical, claims by English Catholics, see Chapter III.

³⁶² For Giavarina's continuing contribution to this debate from his position in England, see below.

considerably (and rather obscuring Louis's culpability for what had occurred), concluding, 'It is said that the king is determined to send to Madrid to demand satisfaction'.³⁶³

At the end of the month, as the French response proceeded, Giovanni Cornaro recorded the arrival and impact of the news in Madrid: 'Yesterday at the same time a gentleman arrived...with the disagreeable news of what had happened in England and of the headlong resolutions of the French king'; adding, 'The French ambassador threatens war and demands satisfaction. The nuncio tries to calm him. Such things ought not to lead to war'.³⁶⁴ After a discussion with the Spanish 'chief minister', Don Luis de Haro, the following day, Cornaro noted that, 'the secretary said that the ministers were incensed with Batteville for not avoiding the incident': a rather different take on Batteville's independent agency than that circulating in Paris.³⁶⁵ Interestingly, having first blamed Batteville, de Haro then found another scapegoat, Cornaro reporting that, 'The English had the responsibility for the greater mischief that had ensued, because some incident had occurred a few days before with the same ambassador. This had gathered a crowd of the English in the streets against the French'. For different reasons then – in one case to explain defeat, in the other, the event itself – the French and Spanish appeared to have reached similar conclusions about the involvement of the English spectators.

Indeed, in an indication of the extent and velocity of the circulation of this news (its vectors if you will), Giovanni Sagredo, Venetian Ambassador at the Imperial Court, wrote to his masters on 13th November (new style), over a month after the engagement, that, 'The distasteful news has arrived of the combat which took place in England for the place of their coaches between the ambassadors of the crowns'. Commenting on the subsequent French actions, Sagredo, adopted a recognizably Venetian standpoint, describing them as, 'unfavourable at the present conjuncture...they say that this accident is unfortunate not only for the general interests of all Christendom but for those of the Catholic in particular'; and, of course, to Venetian interests in preventing peace breaking out between the Emperor and 'the Turk', 'if the quarrel between the crowns is not adjusted and they rush into war, they will make haste here to make peace with the Ottoman'.³⁶⁶ Furthermore, in an interesting assessment of the status afforded to

³⁶³ 19th Oct., 1661, n.s., Moret, Alvisé Grimani, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate, *CSPV*, 1661-4, p.57

³⁶⁴ 30th Oct., 1661, n.s., Madrid, Giovanni Cornaro, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge and Senate, *CSPV*, 1661-4, p.62

³⁶⁵ 1st Nov., 1661, n.s., Cornaro to - , *CSPV*, 1661-4, p.63

³⁶⁶ The Venetians at this time were interested in soliciting support in their defence of Candia (in Crete) against a prolonged Ottoman siege. An interesting – though ineffective – intervention in this field was

England in diplomatic considerations, Sagrdeo added, 'The most prudent here [i.e. almost inevitably, in the early modern period, as now, those agreeing with the position of the correspondent] do not think it right that after having sacrificed the Infanta and various places in Flanders for the sake of securing peace [i.e. in the marriage alliance with Louis XIV], he should be placed in manifest peril for an affair of no great consequence, more particularly since Spain has not the place from France with *the most conspicuous princes of Christendom*, so that *it was no great gain to obtain it in England* for a single day'. (Interestingly, the Emperor, Leopold I, made no diplomatic acknowledgement of the restoration of the Stuarts, and whilst this was undoubtedly not solely a reflection of the relatively low weight attached to England, it hardly passed as a mark of respect in dynastic and diplomatic politics).³⁶⁷ Sagredo concluded, with a proposed diplomatic solution involving the Pope (ironic in light of Louis' later brutal diplomatic treatment of Alexander VII), and a shrewd assessment of Louis: 'They think at this Court...His Holiness should intervene by couriers extraordinary and his own letters to prevent the rupture which may easily occur from the youthfulness and irresponsibility of the king of France, who is attracted by arms and surrounded by councillors who believe that war will suit their fortunes better than peace'.³⁶⁸ As these entries – with their particular Venetian perspective – show, the martial events in London had become the subject of continental diplomatic discourse, and, in the process, positioned not only in the politics of dynastic protocol but in the context of wider European (or perhaps Eurasian) geopolitics.

Public Diplomacy (II)

What had started as a French design to enhance the young King's '*gloire*', an exercise in '*eclat*', had turned into what we would now term a public relations disaster: before a large audience of natives and diplomatic representatives the French had been routed by a smaller force with inferior arms that, on local accounts, had exhibited more wit and greater bravery. If anything it was Watteville and the Spanish that had emerged with their *reputacion* enhanced. Whilst terms such as 'public relations' may be horribly anachronistic, this seems to have been, at least substantively, how Louis himself, grasped the situation in October 1661.³⁶⁹ Louis's own retrospective account of this incident and its aftermath emphasize how his understanding of the theatrical nature of public diplomacy and the circulation of monarchical credit shaped his

produced by Roger Palmer, Earl of Castlemaine, see R. Palmer, Earl of Castlemaine, *An account of the present war between the Venetians and Turk* (London, 1666).

³⁶⁷ Feiling, *British Foreign Policy*, pp.34-5.

³⁶⁸ 13th Nov., 1661, Vienna, Giovanni Sagredo, Venetian Ambassador in Germany [i.e. Imperial Ambassador], to the Doge and Senate, *CSPV*, 1661-4, p.68.

³⁶⁹ On the issue of anachronism, at least on this occasion, I follow Peter Burke's precepts in Burke, *Fabrication*, Ch. I, especially, pp.4-12.

response. 'It was necessary', he noted, in a metaphor that is as martial as it is theatrical, 'so as not to recoil *before the eyes of all Europe*, for me to step forward as I did', adding, 'This tumult in London was a misfortune. It would be a misfortune now if it had not happened'.³⁷⁰ Indeed if Louis was in one sense a spectator of this incident, the event had something of the renaissance masque to it, with Louis now at its symbolic centre; watching and being watched by his peers. (The local audience, in turn, gestures to the Restoration playhouse with its participatory spectators and, frequently, lack of decorum). The diplomatic chatter noted above, and which his own diplomatic representatives were party to, only confirmed Louis's contention that the European gaze was firmly fixed on his person. His immediate response to D'Estrades was both ominous for the present conjuncture and predictive of his future conduct of diplomacy. 'Well may you believe', he wrote, 'that I have deeply resented those insults as their nature binds me to, and *my honour* being at stake. I hope with the help of God, and through the vigour of the resolutions I am taking, the which I shall carry as far as people will make it necessary, that those who have caused me this displeasure will soon be more sorry for it and anxious then I ever was'.³⁷¹ What followed was equally an exercise of personal will, political might and public representation.

For analytical purposes at least, the French response can be separated into two parts. In the first instance, Louis, following the cue of his local representative, D'Estrades, sought to rewrite the narrative of the battle itself. If the London 'street' had constructed its own version of French identity – if not of Louis himself – Louis was determined to produce his own representation of that space, and of the London crowd as a collective political subject.³⁷² Here Louis relied on commonplace early modern elite notions regarding collective plebeian (or at least socially-diverse) action; its volatility and irrationality, and venal character. Louis invested the crowd with political agency whilst divesting its affiliation of any ethical value; it was simply a mercenary army. In his defence, Louis had feared (or better anticipated) local involvement before the engagement. Just days before the entrance, he had written to D'Estrades informing him, 'General Monk has promised the Baron de Watteville to give him soldiers of his Scottish

³⁷⁰ *Memoires*, pp.76-7; emphasis added. Louis also seems to have had another audience in mind, 'posterity', see, 'But when it will be a question, as on the occasion that I have just described to you [i.e. the diplomatic tumult in London], of your rank in the world, of the rights of your crown, of the king, finally, and not of the private individual, boldly assume as much loftiness of heart and of spirit as you can, and do not betray the glory of your predecessors nor the interests of your successors, whose trustee you are. For then your humility would become baseness, and this is what I would have replied myself to the supporters of Spain, who were secretly murmuring in their concern for her, as if I had taken a little too much advantage of her', p.78.

³⁷¹ 16th Oct., 1661, Louis to d'Estrades, Jusserand, *French Ambassador*, p.29; emphasis added

³⁷² On the 'production of space' see E. Soja, *Postmodern geographies : the reassertion of space in critical social theory* (London, 1989), and M. Ogborn, *Spaces of Modernity: London's Geographies, 1680 - 1780* (New York, 1998).

regiment with a few Irish to strengthen the Spaniards and guard their coach', adding, 'once your coach has taken the place due to it immediately after the Swedish ambassador's, your men must not leave it before it has reached the house of the said ambassador, for fear that at the crossing of some street these Scottish and Irish rush in with might and main and stop you and let Watteville go'.³⁷³ Understandably, D'Estrades was keen to emphasize – if not invent – the difficulties he had encountered. At the very moment he was threatening to leave London, D'Estrades informed his master that, 'In the course of eight days I was twice in danger of being assassinated and a musket ball went through my hat; soldiers and a mob have come to attack me in my own house'; incidents that were perhaps true, and certainly enhanced his reputation in Paris, but left not a trace elsewhere in the archives.³⁷⁴ Louis seemed inclined to believe his representative; a better position, at least rhetorically, from which to retrieve a semblance of French honour from the debacle. Contrary to local reports, Louis claimed the outcome was not the result of any lack of bravery ('the Marquis D'Estrades, his son, who was at their head, did all that brave men could in a similar tumult'), but the engagement of an overwhelming and apparently plebeian force: 'it was not possible for them to prevail over *a huge mob* of people already ill-disposed toward the French, and even more aroused by the emissaries of Watteville, who, if I have heard correctly, had armed more than two thousand men and spent almost five hundred thousand *livres* in this fine undertaking'; additionally claiming that, 'and almost as many [were killed] on the Spanish side as on the French'.³⁷⁵ This revisionist narrative (typically) was not simply at odds with native accounts – that might reasonably be thought too *parti pris* in this instance – but with the, presumably, neutral Giavarina. The latter noted, 'in obedience to his Majesty's orders no one intervened for either party, unless by accident, and some English who were actual servants of the Catholic ambassador and wore his livery. Those who ran after the coach after the incident did so not because they had defended it at the Tower, but from the hope of profit in accompanying it, which they got, everyone being proportionately rewarded'.³⁷⁶

Adding national stereotypes of the English to elite prejudices against popular politics and the lower classes, Louis also suggested, none-too-subtly, that Charles could not control his recently rebellious subjects, observing, 'all he could do was to pacify the tumult after many persons had been killed or wounded'.³⁷⁷ Unsurprisingly, given the recent turbulent history of the Atlantic Archipelago, this view seems to have been widely shared. Shortly before the fray, Giavarina

³⁷³ 6th Oct., 1661, (n.s.), Louis to d'Estrades Jusserand, *French Ambassador*, pp.24-5.

³⁷⁴ 13th Oct., 1661 (n.s.), d'Estrades to Lionne, Jusserand, *French Ambassador*, p.28.

³⁷⁵ *Memoires*, pp.71-2; emphasis added.

³⁷⁶ 28th Oct., 1661, Francesco Giavarina to -, *CSPV*, 1661-1664, p.61.

³⁷⁷ *Memoires*, pp.71-2.

had informed the Venetian authorities that, 'Evil humours still persist in this kingdom and are hard to purge away while there is the diversity of religions and creeds which at present infects England'; Giavarina here revealing the anti-Protestant prejudice that was the Counter-Reformation mirror to anti-Popery. He continued, 'These persons think of nothing but how to shuffle the cards again and rekindle civil strife, and win advantages for their party', adding that, 'they were meditating some disturbance in this city', and that, 'various munitions of war of which a great quantity were found scattered about in different parts of the metropolis, in secret underground places'. Giavarina depicted an alternative, secret and rebellious topography of the capital to set against the public spaces of civic ritual.³⁷⁸ Louis' unflattering representation of his fellow monarch as essentially helpless and his subjects as inveterately unruly, was only reinforced by the constant diet of plots – like the one referred to by Giavarina above – that the restored monarchy fed to the public; in good faith or bad.³⁷⁹ Here Louis was playing to local fears as much as elite foreign prejudices about the lower classes and English national proclivities. Pepys' 'streets full of people' had been represented by Louis as the *mobile vulgus*, 'the mob'. If in the past half-century social historians – and notably for the Restoration, Tim Harris – have attempted to wrestle popular agency and collective self-identification from the condescension of elite representation, Louis here, whilst retaining their agency, put the normative process into reverse.³⁸⁰

Having attempted to rewrite the narrative of the Battle of Tower Wharf, if not as a victory, at least as a glorious defeat, Louis swiftly set about winning the diplomatic war. Here the judgements of Giavarina and the Imperial Ambassador, that the contest would not be won on the day, proved accurate: Watteville's triumph, however sweet, would prove only brief. Both sides in the initial dispute, and indeed the European audience, were aware 'that the Spanish government was in no position to defy Louis: the balance of power had shifted too far'.³⁸¹ Louis put Spain under sufficient diplomatic pressure that political will in Madrid buckled – expressed symbolically in the death of the chief-minister, de Haro – and Philip was forced into a humiliating diplomatic retreat. Louis later, and, given the intertwined personal and diplomatic stakes, understandably, described this diplomatic performance and its staging in considerable detail: 'The Count d Fuel- [n.b. LXIV's error for Marquis de la Fuente], ambassador extraordinary of the Catholic King, came to my great chamber at the Louvre, where the papal

³⁷⁸ 9th Sep., 1661, Francesco Giavarina to -, CSPV, 1661-1664, p.40.

³⁷⁹ The alternative views of the provenance of such plots are provided by R. Greaves, *Deliver us from Evil: the radical underground in Britain, 1660-1663* (Oxford, 1986) and Marshall, *Intelligence*.

³⁸⁰ Harris, *London Crowds*; Harris provides an excellent survey of the history of crowds in his introductory chapter; see also, T. Harris (ed.), *The Politics of the Excluded, c.1500 – 1850* (Basingstoke, 2001).

³⁸¹ The quoted text is taken from a private communication with Professor John Miller.

nuncio and all the ambassadors, residents and envoys at my court and the most important persons in my state were waiting'. Having performed these niceties, the unfortunate Fuente 'declared to me' - but also before the diplomatic corps and the French elite – 'that His Catholic Majesty had been no less displeased nor less surprised than I by what had transpired in London and that he had no sooner heard of it than he ordered Baron de Vatteville, his ambassador, to leave England and return to Spain, dismissing him from his position in order to offer me satisfaction and to demonstrate to him the resentment that his excesses merited'. Having conceded to Louis' narrative of events, Fuente, moving on to the diplomatic substance, added, 'that [Philip V] had already sent orders to all his ambassadors and ministers, both in England and in all the other courts where similar difficulties might arise in the future, to *abstain* from any competition with my ambassadors and ministers in all public ceremonies that my ambassadors and ministers might attend'. Fuente having then withdrawn, Louis then applied his own interpretative spin to the remaining audience, '[telling] them that they had heard the declaration of the Spanish ambassador and that I requested them to communicate it to their masters so that they might know that the Catholic King had issued orders for his ambassadors to *cede the precedence* to mine on every occasion'; an unusual rendering of the Spanish 'abstention'.³⁸²

The apparatus of Louis's royal representation was then put in motion in order to further publicize this French diplomatic triumph. The Spanish apology and recognition of precedence (if that was what it was) was memorialized in a huge tapestry, designed by the Court painter, Charles Lebrun. It was also the subject of another Lebrun work, *Le preeminence de France reconnue par L'Espagne*; part of the decoration of the Grande Galerie at Versailles. This theme was given yet another treatment, in plaster relief, on the *Escalier des Ambassadeurs* at the same venue. As Burke notes in regard to the positioning of this final piece of politico-cultural production (but relevant to all three renderings of this diplomatic coup), 'this was clearly *pour encourager les autres*'.³⁸³ This was the system of representative publicity at its zenith: the triumphant display of Louis's *gloire* before his royal peers, or at least their diplomatic representatives on the stages provided first by the Louvre, and then, for subsequent spectators and generations, by the palace of Versailles. (Incidentally, a similar set of cultural artefacts was commissioned to be displayed in the same settings to mark the Pope's capitulation to Louis in 1664 in the affair of the Corsican Guards).

³⁸² *Memoires*, p.74; emphasis added.

³⁸³ Burke, *Fabrication*, p.64.

The official response in London should be seen as a reaction in turn to the pressure applied by D'Estrades and, more significantly, Louis, and to the European audience of these events more generally. If the diplomatic tumult had put Louis's honour at risk, his cousin's standing appeared to be about to suffer collateral damage. In fact, initially, there appears to have been little concern in London at the outcome of the entrance. The government did make one immediate response however, issuing an Order in Council to banning the attendance of other ambassadors at ambassadorial entrances in the future; explicitly to avoid such conflicts on the streets of the capital, but implicitly to avoid becoming embroiled in such diplomatic disputes.³⁸⁴ The comments (cited above) made at Court by Charles and James to Turenne's nephew regarding D'Estrades' military competence indicate that Charles and those around him may have felt that, a degree of *schadenfreude* that Louis (via his local representative, D'Estrades) had now received his comeuppance.³⁸⁵ Conversely, Batteville's *virtu* seems to have been commended.³⁸⁶ D'Estrades' response – and particularly his allegations of local involvement – and Louis' furious reaction, however, made it clear that Charles too was being caught up in the diplomatic blowback from this French farce. In this context, official publication in London was intended to counter this diplomatic tsunami coming from across the Channel, and to regain control over the developing narrative of events before an international as much as local audience, rather than to satisfy public curiosity.³⁸⁷ Indeed, the official domestic reports printed in the news-books, *The Kingdomes Intelligencer* and *Mercurius Publicus*, and the drafting in of John Evelyn, were part of the government's efforts to deflect Louis's specific charges of local involvement in the French defeat, and their implications about the stability of the restored monarchy.³⁸⁸ Evelyn, having been subjected to a royal charm offensive whilst on a yachting trip on the Thames – Charles provided regal criticism of Evelyn's *Fumifugum*, and 'commanded' him 'to prepare a Bill, against the next session of Parliament' to implement his reforms proposed therein – was 'commanded...to draw-up the *Matter of Fact* happning at the bloody Encounter which then had newly happn'd betweene the *French & Spanish* Ambassador neere the *Tower*, at the reception of the *Sweds* Ambassador'.³⁸⁹ (The race was, incidentally, between those two diplomatic markers, Gravesend and Greenwich). Evelyn subsequently noted in his diary that this account was, 'to be prepar'd for a Declaration to take

³⁸⁴ 2nd Oct., 1661, *CSPD*, 1661-2, p.104.

³⁸⁵ The early modern subject – at least the humanistically-educated ones like Pepys – would probably have experienced *epichairekakia* rather than *schadenfreude*.

³⁸⁶ 14th Oct., 1661, Francesco Giavarina to -, *CSPV*, 1661-1664, p.55.

³⁸⁷ Or, more precisely, the desire was to satisfy curiosity with an official version of events and thereby close down further debate and discussion.

³⁸⁸ For Evelyn's involvement see De Beer, *Evelyn*, iii, pp.296-300 and correspondence, BL Add MS 78,298, ff.114-5.

³⁸⁹ 1st Oct., 1661, De Beer, *Evelyn*, iii, p.297.

off the reports which went about of his Majesties partiality in this affaire, & of his Officers &c: Spectators rudenesse whilst the conflict lasted'.³⁹⁰ In addition to the printed version, *The True Relation*, Evelyn's account, composed from interviews and materials provided by, amongst others, Sir William Compton, Master of the Ordinance, and Sir Charles Berkeley, Captain of the Duke of York's Regiment of Guards, was sent to the Earl of St Albans to be presented to Louis.³⁹¹

Here it is worth reflecting on the difference in scale in the machinery of publicity available to Louis and Charles – even allowing for the different reputational stakes the each had in the interpretative outcome of this diplomatic dispute. Whilst Louis was able to call on a small army of cultural producers, including Le Brun and Perrault, Charles appears to have picked on the first figure that came to hand and was willing to work on the possibility (rather than promise) of patronage; in this case the increasingly-hassled Evelyn. (After four days working on the 'Declaration', Evelyn finally, 'slip'd home', 'being my selfe much indisposs'd and harrass'd, with going about, & sitting up to write, &c:').³⁹² Evelyn's suitability, rather than availability for the task, was perhaps brought into relief when, in an earlier letter, he noted, 'you may have often observed the tenor of my Life, as of all men living the least qualified for man of Warr; my skill in the Tacticks reaching no further then the disciplining of Flowers in my Garden and ranging the Bookes in my study'.³⁹³ Yet the cosmopolitan Evelyn was alert to the rather different scale of political-cultural production (or the mechanisms of state propaganda) in France; and of the political consequences to his master. In a letter to Sir Henry Bennet, he noted, in terms that share the concerns expressed by Louis, that, 'I have...to the best of my skill reform'd this Relation so as may neither give the least offence to either Party, nor diminish of the style in which his Matie ought to convey things of this nature to ye world; and especially upon conjuncture so reasonable, as is that of vindicating himselfe and his people, as well as for the adornement of his owne History, when such as unusual & publiq action will be looked into how the vulgar represented it; if his Matie should by not preventing altogether neglect it'.³⁹⁴ Here he rehearsed the arguments for some similar structures to be put in place in England which he would make again to Sir Thomas Clifford (cited above) eight years later.

Aftermath

³⁹⁰ 1st Oct., 1661, De Beer, *Evelyn*, iii, p.298.

³⁹¹ 1st Oct., 1661, De Beer, *Evelyn*, iii, pp.298-300.

³⁹² 3rd Oct., 1661, De Beer, *Evelyn*, iii, p.300.

³⁹³ 25th Aug., 1660, Sayes Court, Evelyn to Colonel R. Spencer, BL Add MS 78,298, f.106.

³⁹⁴ 7th Oct., 1661, Sayes Court, JE to Sir Henry Bennet, 'Keeper of the Privy Purse to His Matie' <'now Secretary of State'>, BL Add MS 78298, ff.114-v.

Given the final outcome of the dispute set in train by the diplomatic tumult in London (in addition to his own disposition), it is hardly surprising that Louis repeatedly used the issue of precedence. Grimani, the Venetian diplomatic representative in Paris, observed that, 'the successful issue of the adjustment with Spain has swollen their pride at this Court, it makes them uphold their pretensions with the more energy'; the occasion for this comment, revealingly, being a new spat, this time between France and England over 'the sovereignty of the seas', that is, a matter of diplomatic protocol.³⁹⁵ Similar incidents to the one that occurred at Tower Wharf would mark the 1660s; against Charles II's representative in Paris, Lord Holles, in 1663, and to great effect in Rome against Pope Alexander VII, the following year. In 1667 this diplomatic disposition struck closer still to Pepys. Towards the end of January he noted, 'there is newes upon the Exchange to-day, that my Lord Sandwich's coach [Sandwich was now serving as ambassador in Spain] and the French Ambassador's at Madrid, meeting and contending for the way, they shot my Lord's postilion and another man dead; and that we have killed 25 of theirs, and that my Lord is well'. In an interesting aside that supports the argument of the previous chapter regarding the relationship between specific sites and particular kinds of knowledge, he added, 'How true this is I cannot tell, there being no newes of it at all at Court, as I am told late by one come thence, so that I hope it is not so'. And so, on this occasion, it turned out: this was a phantom tumult.³⁹⁶ As this last instance shows, each of these acts of diplomatic display was the subject of public discourse – on this occasion appearing to have been initiated at the Royal Exchange - in England, or at least in London. Even the hapless D'Estrades was allowed to redeem himself. He took possession of Dunkirk from its English governor in 1662, an event commemorated by Lebrun and the official historian, Charles Perrault, was a representative at the Treaty of Breda, and was later appointed a Marshal of France.³⁹⁷ Perhaps as importantly for his honour, D'Estrades was able to gain a form of personal redemption. Two years later he was involved in another incident similar to that in London: this time with a rather different outcome. Downing, now ambassador at The Hague informed Clarendon that, 'Tuesday last there was another rencontre in the Foreholt between the Prince of Orange and Monsieur d'Estrades, the French Ambassador, their coaches, between four and five in the afternoon...No sword drawn on either side, nor a blow given; but the people began to flock in infinite numbers...and it was not evident that, had but one stroke been given, d'Estrades and his coach and horses had been buried upon the place and his house

³⁹⁵ 7th Feb., 1661/2, Paris, Alvise Grimani, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate, *CSPV*, 1661-4, p.105.

³⁹⁶ 29th Jan., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.36.

³⁹⁷ Burke, *Fabrication*, pp.64-5.

plundered and pulled down to the ground'. This incident serves as a stark reminder of the high personal stakes in such public diplomacy.³⁹⁸

Furthermore, for all the abject failure of his representatives on the streets around Tower Hill in the autumn of 1661, Louis's reputation seems to have suffered no collateral damage, either in the short- or long-term; and to have detached itself from the negative stereotypes that surrounded Louis's countrymen. This case of diplomatic 'referential failure' – the English audience's failure en masse to connect the 'signifier', i.e. D'Estrades, with the 'signified', i.e. Louis; and King with country – would appear to require some kind of explanation. This representational disconnect was certainly not evident in subsequent diplomatic discourse and action. It may be the case that some, maybe many, of the audience, were simply unfamiliar with the significance of ambassadorial personation; that they thought that sometimes an ambassador is just an ambassador. This is not wholly satisfactory however, since Pepys certainly was aware of the connection between diplomatic representatives and monarchical and national honour.³⁹⁹ It may be that Louis here simply benefitted from his relative anonymity at this early stage of his reign. Whatever the explanation, just over a year after the debacle at Tower Hill, Pepys was noting in his journal, 'The great talke is the designs of the King of France, whether against the Pope or King of Spayne nobody knows; but a great and a most promising Prince he is'; adding, in a terms that would have delighted Louis, 'and *all the Princes of Europe have their eye upon him*'.⁴⁰⁰ Pepys' journal entry indicates that Louis' had now achieved the visibility that he craved. More remarkable still, given that England and France were then at war, is a conversation Pepys recorded with his new friend, John Evelyn in April 1667, in which they discussed 'the posture of affairs'. Meeting in Whitehall the two diarists – also fellow officers in the increasingly shambolic war effort – 'took a turn'. Pepys notes, 'with Mr. Evelyn, with whom I walked two hours, till almost one of the clock: talking of the badness of the Government, where nothing but wickedness, and wicked men and women command the King and then, from the negligence of the Clergy, that a Bishop shall never be seen about him, *as the King of France hath always*'. Criticism of Charles soon turned to a pointed comparison in contemporary government: 'He tells me mighty stories of the King of France, *how great a prince he is*. He hath made a code to shorten the law; he hath put out all the ancient commanders of castles that were become hereditary; he hath made all the fryers subject to the bishops, which before were only subject to Rome, and so were hardly the King's subjects... He tells me the King of France hath his mistresses, *but laughs at the foolery of our King*, that

³⁹⁸ 29th Apr., 1664 (o.s.), Downing (Hague) to Clarendon, Jusserand, *French Ambassador*, p.31.

³⁹⁹ See, for instance, Pepys' comments on Lord Holles's problems as ambassador to France, 22nd Feb., 1664, Pepys, v, pp.59-60.

⁴⁰⁰ 31st Dec., 1663, Pepys, iv, p.439; emphasis added.

makes his bastards princes, and loses his revenue upon them, and makes his mistresses his masters'.⁴⁰¹ Now, at a time of war, all the comparisons are in Louis's favour. Here the French King is operating as a virtuous 'other' to the indolent Charles, all-too-prone to the *vita voluptuosa*.⁴⁰² Interestingly Louis shared this rhetorical role at this time with Oliver Cromwell; for Charles a worrying set of comparisons, to 'foreign' and 'historical' 'others', and a sign of growing disaffection with his rule. In 1669, Pepys was even adding prints of Louis – by the French engraver, Robert Nanteuil – to his burgeoning collection; declaring himself, 'mightily pleased', brought at his request from France, by his neighbour William Batelier.⁴⁰³

Epilogue

What then is the value of such a micro-history of the politics of reputation: an encounter on the streets of London between Louis XIV (by representative) and Samuel Pepys (as representative of the spectating public)? Firstly, at the disciplinary level, the categories of 'public diplomacy' and 'diplomatic publics' provide alternative ways of approaching the disciplines of diplomatic and social history: indicating, with apologies to the late Patrick Collinson, a diplomatic history with added 'social depth', on the one hand, and, on the other, a social history with the ('high' or 'dynastic') 'politics put back'.⁴⁰⁴ Or, to use the language of publicity, this conjunction might be figured as a diplomatic public sphere or field; characterized by participants, institutions, sites, practices and discourses (or better still narratives). Next, this incident reveals more expansive notions of publicity, both in terms of modes and participants; a way of moving beyond the increasingly restrictive confines of the Restoration public sphere. In the place of a discursive and increasingly bourgeois practice, centred on the coffeehouse, this chapter has foregrounded a representative mode of publicity, that was performed before a popular audience 'out-of-doors'; an event which then triggered a demotic counter-display. To adopt Habermasian language, this is to enter the world of elite 'representative publicity'; albeit one where popular acclamation merges into participation. What Pepys witnessed and participated in here might be termed publicity as 'event' rather than 'institution' (even to put a 21st century spin on it, an early modern, 'pop-up public'). Yet whilst the central incident of this

⁴⁰¹ 26th Apr., 1667, Pepys, iv, p.182.

⁴⁰² For the *vita voluptuosa* as a Aristotelian complement to the more familiar *vita activa* and *vita contempliva* see Antony & Cleopatra, D. Bevington (ed), (Cambridge, 2005), p.9.

⁴⁰³ 16th Feb., 1669, Pepys, ix, p.451, n.1.

⁴⁰⁴ P. Collinson, "De Republica Anglorum: Or, History with the Politics Put Back" in P. Collinson, *Elizabethan Essays* (London, 1994), p.11; see also, K. Wrightson, "The enclosure of English social history" in A. Wilson (ed.), *Rethinking Social History: English Society 1570-1920 and its interpretation* (Manchester, 1993); D. Underdown, *A freeborn people : politics and the nation in seventeenth-century England* (Oxford, 1996); P. Lake and S. Pincus, "The Strange and Frequent Death of Political History", http://www.historyworkingpapers.org/?page_id=305 (accessed, 26th Apr., 2013, 13:56).

chapter concerns display – both monarchical and popular – it gave rise to a discursive public (or publics); indicating the dialectical nature of the relationship between discourse and display in this period. Whilst it remains important to retain ‘display’ and ‘discourse’ as distinct modes of publicity - for analytical purposes in the present, and for normative purposes in the past - it should be recognized they are ideal-types. In practice they had a tendency to, if not quite to collapse into each other – coffeehouse discourse is not identical to diplomatic display - then at least to merge together; display involving and producing discourse, and vice versa. In this model of publicity, oriented around space rather than chronological (or teleological) notions of time, information circulates between courts, streets and taverns (and even coffeehouses). Finally, my account of this incident and its ramifications merely indicates, rather than analyses, the complex ways in which local, national and transnational publics acted and interacted.⁴⁰⁵ The formal benefit of this move then is to delineate an at once more episodic and more expansive field of publicity – socially, spatially and geographically – characterized by more diverse forms of publicity: a process not then of negation, but rather of modification.

⁴⁰⁵ J. Peacey, “Fanatics in Foreign Lands: Networks, Diplomacy and Print in Seventeenth Century Europe”, *Intellectual Networks in the Long Seventeenth Century Conference*, Durham University, 2nd Jul., 2013; I would like to express my thanks to Dr Peacey for providing me with a copy of his paper.

In the aftermath of the Fire of London Samuel Pepys read two parts of a polemical exchange that offered opposed yet paradigmatic views on the place of English Catholics within the wider political public. On the 1st December 1666, Pepys noted that, ‘I did this afternoon get Mrs. Michell to let me only have a sight of a pamphlet lately printed’. The text in question, *The Catholiques Apology*, published anonymously but since attributed to the Anglo-Catholic, Earl of Castlemaine, was, according to Pepys, ‘much called after...but suppressed’. This work asserted the unimpeachable loyalty of English Catholics, presented an unorthodox reading of post-Reformation English history, and proposed an alternative political future. After providing an extended gloss on the text, Pepys concluded that it was ‘very well writ ended’.⁴⁰⁶ A little less than three months later, in an entry that casts further light on his reading practices, Pepys wrote, ‘I did this day, going by water, read the answer to “The Apology for Papists”’. *The Answer* was published anonymously too but later acknowledged by the Anglican divine, William Lloyd. In this work – presented as a robust animadversion of *The Apology* – Lloyd reasserted many of the central tenets of early modern anti-popery, reiterated a more traditional confessional history, and strictly banished English Catholics from public life. Whilst on this occasion failing to leave an extensive textual critique, Pepys did note that the pamphlet ‘did like me mightily, it being a thing as well writ as I think most things that ever I read in my life’, before adding for emphasis, ‘and glad I am that I read it’.⁴⁰⁷

At first glance, these seemingly contradictory critical judgements might be taken as conclusive evidence of cognitive incapacity or political inconstancy on Pepys’ part; even perhaps of an excessively-aestheticized political judgment. The argument proposed in this chapter, whilst not dismissing such factors, offers an alternative hypothesis. Drawing primarily on evidence from Pepys’ diaries, it argues that during the Restoration these apparently incompatible discursive (or interpretative) stances were, in practice, compatible, if not always comfortable.⁴⁰⁸ At a time when Catholicism is often thought to have retreated to the margins of society, the diaries record the quotidian character and surprising ubiquity of Pepys’ engagement with Catholicism; its practitioners, its intellectual resources, material culture and spiritual practices, as well as the geo-politics of the European Counter-Reformation; that is of Catholics and Catholicism. Yet alongside this ‘lived experience’, Pepys also records the workings of a pervasive discourse,

⁴⁰⁶ 1st Dec., 1666, Pepys, VII, pp.393-4.

⁴⁰⁷ 17th Feb., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.70.

⁴⁰⁸ See especially, Milton, A., “A Qualified Intolerance” in Marotti, A. (ed.), *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern Texts* (Basingstoke, 1999); see also, E. Shagan, “Introduction: English Catholic history in context” in Shagan, *Catholics*.

represented here by Lloyd's anonymous text, on the existential threat presented by 'Popery' and 'Papists': a disciplinary regime - or to use Peter Lake's influential formulation, a structured prejudice - designed to reinforce the morally-charged and divisive categories of 'Catholic' and 'Protestant'.⁴⁰⁹

The chapter splits into two parts. The first half is primarily concerned with the production of texts and meaning. It examines the two authors' opposed interventions in high politics through the medium of print, and their attempts to manipulate historical narratives and confessional identities. Here, to use the now familiar language of literary studies, Lloyd and Castlemaine were each involved in simultaneous acts of individual 'self-fashioning' and the production of collective political subjects or identities.⁴¹⁰ The second part of the chapter by contrast shifts from questions of production to those of reception, from text to context, and from author to reader/audience: that is to Pepys' reading as an act of interpretation (even appropriation) and as social practice. It attempts to contextualize and historicize his apparently contradictory glosses on these texts by examining his encounters with the field of anti-popery; its practices, institutions, discourses and agents, and his experience of 'Catholicism' (understood in the same terms). Reassembled, the chapter as a whole operates as a case study of the intersection between post-Reformation religious polemic and the politics of the public sphere: a field of identity politics and the politics of identification. By examining this point of contact it aims to contribute to both bodies of scholarship. In the former, by expanding the scope of what Ethan Shagan has termed, 'a post-confessional, post-revisionist approach to English Catholicism'.⁴¹¹ In the latter, it seeks to counter-balance the (entirely appropriate) insistence on the expansive and emancipatory tendencies of public discourse emphasized in recent research, with a focus on more exclusionary aspects of the politics of the public sphere. Finally, it attempts to illuminate the vexed question of Pepys' religious identity; or, perhaps more accurately, his religious identification.

Anti-popery is now understood as one of the central narratives in early modern English history and, indeed, its earliest historiography. Milton has thus stated, in suitably stark terms, that,

⁴⁰⁹ P. Lake, "Anti-popery".

⁴¹⁰ S. Greenblatt, *RSF*.

⁴¹¹ Shagan, "English Catholic History", pp.1-2.

'One of the most important findings of recent historians of early modern England has been the extraordinary prominence of anti-Catholicism'.⁴¹² If, as Eamon Duffy has remarked, the Reformation 'had dug a ditch, deep and dividing, between the English people and their past', anti-papery played a critical role in establishing and then maintaining that rupture. It provided a means, as Peter Lake has stressed, by which contemporaries divided a virtuous, English, Protestant 'self', from a vicious, alien, 'Popish' 'other', and attempted to locate themselves in time and space.⁴¹³ The basis for the study of this phenomenon during the Restoration remains John Miller's seminal study, *Papery & Politics*. In this work Miller set out a clear problematic: how did 'a violent and often hysterical anti-Catholicism' come to dominate politics at a time when its apparent referent - the English Catholic community - was numerically small, largely provincial and politically quiescent.⁴¹⁴ The solution was provided by the conjunction of a powerful anti-Catholic 'tradition' and the unfolding narrative of the Restoration period. This tradition, stretching back into the Elizabethan period, operated on two levels: firstly, by representing Catholicism as an 'anti-religion'; and secondly, by revealing an on-going design by a diabolical alliance of Popes, Jesuits, and Court-based Catholics to 'extirpate' England's religious and political 'liberties'.⁴¹⁵ Whilst a constant feature of post-Reformation political culture, anti-papery varied in intensity. Thus in the opening decade of the Restoration – the period under discussion in this chapter - this discourse was, as Miller has noted, 'latent and primarily defensive'.⁴¹⁶ It was reignited in the 1670s by the actions of Charles II and James II at home (particularly when the latter's conversion to Catholicism became a matter of public knowledge), and by Louis XIV's emergence as the leading actor in Continental Europe.⁴¹⁷ Thereafter, anti-papery was the central narrative in English politics, providing the cognitive frame through which contemporaries experienced James' II's Catholicizing policies; and explaining the violent reaction of so many to them.⁴¹⁸ After the Glorious Revolution, as Miller noted, anti-papery entered the DNA of English 'history'; first through the partisan efforts of Whig historians, and then through their lineal (and, in many cases, genetic) successor, 'Whig' history; the latter still alive, if perhaps not entirely well, in 1973.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹² Milton, "A qualified intolerance", p.85.

⁴¹³ Lake, "Anti-Papery"; E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400 - 1580* (New Haven, 2005), p.xiv.

⁴¹⁴ Miller, *Papery*, p.1.

⁴¹⁵ Miller, *Papery*, Ch.4. 'Anti-religion' is Peter Lake's term, Lake, "Anti-Papery", p.73, & *passim*.

⁴¹⁶ Miller, *Papery*, p.93.

⁴¹⁷ For an alternative interpretation of James's policies, which accords him more aggressive intent, see S. Pincus, *FMR*, Chs. 5 & 6.

⁴¹⁸ Miller, *Papery*, Ch.14.

⁴¹⁹ Miller, *Papery*, pp.262-3; for the comic version of Whig history, W. Yeatman & R. Sellar, *1066 And All That* (London, 1930).

As both its date of publication and the shibboleths it took aim at would suggest, *Popery and Politics* as a text should be positioned in the 'revisionist' tsunami that swept over early modern historiography in the 1970s and '80s.⁴²⁰ As a result of this historiographical 'break', 'religion' – as a category – ceased to be considered in Marxist terms as simply an ideological effect of the socio-economic base; whilst the Enlightenment - and Whiggish - narrative of gradual and inevitable secularization has been repeatedly postponed; and, if we are to believe Jonathan Clark's recent *Historical Journal* article, cancelled altogether.⁴²¹ The centrality of religion to early modern history in general, and the Restoration in particular, is now such that Jacqueline Rose has called it a 'historiographical truism'; adding that, 'a sense of the interplay of politics and religion...has provided the foundations of the latest generation of Restoration historiography.'⁴²² As such Miller's study should be positioned, certainly chronologically and in some respects thematically, alongside works by Christopher Haigh and J. J. Scarisbrick which questioned an earlier, and often explicitly confessionalized, history of the Reformation exemplified by A. G. Dicken's *The English Reformation*.⁴²³ In these studies, and particularly in the work of John Bossy, English Catholicism in the post-Elizabethan period came to be depicted as distinct from English (and increasingly Protestant) society, cut-off from the currents of continental Counter-Reformation Catholicism, and essentially apolitical: that is as a private religious sect, anticipating later forms of Protestant non-conformism.⁴²⁴ Shagan has commented that, 'what might have been an increasingly broad discussion of the relationship of the evolving Catholic community to the rest of English society instead became an increasingly narrow discussion of that community's withdrawal'.⁴²⁵

This historiographical model, often labelled 'recusant history' (with its own dedicated academic practitioners, publications and conferences), had much in common with contemporary developments in 'mainstream' early modern research, and in particular with the 'county studies' framework.⁴²⁶ There too, the localities, although increasingly Protestant, were cut off from the outside, figured as organic communities, and largely ignorant and

⁴²⁰ For a historical-sociological treatment of 'revisionism' see P. Lake, "Wentworth" in J. Merritt (ed.), *The Political World of Thomas Wentworth* (Cambridge, 1996).

⁴²¹ For the cancellation of secularization see J. Clark, "Secularization and modernization: the failure of a 'grand narrative'", *Historical Journal* 55:1 (March, 2012).

⁴²² J. Rose, *Godly Kingship*, (Cambridge, 2011), pp.11 & 10.

⁴²³ For a perceptive study of these works and their relationship, see Shagan, *Catholics*, especially, pp.3-8.

⁴²⁴ J. Bossy, *The English Catholic community, 1570-1850* (London, 1975).

⁴²⁵ Shagan, *Catholics*, p.8.

⁴²⁶ P. Lake & M. Questier, "Continuities of Catholicism", unpublished paper, unpaginated, n.12; Shagan, *Catholics*, p.12. 'Recusant history' thus represents an exemplar of the phenomenon that Michael Warner has termed a 'counterpublic', M. Warner, "Publics and Counterpublics" in M. Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics* (New York, 2002).

uninterested in the politics of the centre.⁴²⁷ The collapse of this model in the face of subsequent research has raised questions about its applicability in the case of the English 'recusant' subset.⁴²⁸ More recently then, early modernists have become interested in the persistence and presence of Catholics and 'Catholicism' in post-Reformation England (now, thanks in large part to the Revisionists, understood as drawn-out process rather than dramatic event). There has been a desire, in Shagan's deliberately provocative phrase, 'to pull Catholicism back into the mainstream of English historiography'; to write a 'post-confessional, post-revisionist' history of English Catholicism.⁴²⁹ At one level this can be seen in Peter Lake's remarkably influential study of anti-papery as a 'structured prejudice' (now almost a quarter of a century old); part of a wider attempt to reinsert 'ideology' and ideological conflict back into the early Stuart period.⁴³⁰ As noted above, Lake placed representations of 'Papery' – 'thinking with Catholics' to paraphrase Stuart Clark – at the centre of early modern English political discourse and practice; a means for grasping England's place in the world and in time, as much as normatively-loaded binaries of an English Protestant 'self' and a foreign, Catholic 'other'.⁴³¹

The centrality of representations of Roman Catholicism – albeit of a hostile and heightened nature – has been accompanied by a reassessment of Catholic agency. For the periods abutting the Restoration, important studies by Michael Questier and Gabriel Glickman have each emphasized Catholic engagement with, on the one hand, the early modern state and Protestant society, and on the other, trends and developments in European Catholicism.⁴³² From a slightly different angle, Anthony Milton has highlighted the ubiquitous presence of 'Catholicism' in early Stuart England. He has commented that, '[anti-papery] a simple black-and-white world in which the lines of confessional demarcation were strong, clear and not to be breached, existed within a society in which the same lines were constantly criss-crossed, redrawn, reconceived and tacitly ignored'.⁴³³ As a result, Milton has talked of the 'collaboration made with Roman Catholicism on a daily basis by [English Protestant] scholars, politicians,

⁴²⁷ An approach that began with Everitt's work in the 1960s and culminated in John Morrill's synthetic study; A. Everitt, *The community of Kent and the Great Rebellion, 1640-60* (Leicester, 1966); J. Morrill, *The revolt of the provinces: conservatives and radicals in the English Civil War, 1630-1650* (London, 1980).

⁴²⁸ For a convincing refutation of this thesis, at least in its revisionist mode, see A. Hughes, "Local History and the Origins of the Civil War" in Cust & Hughes, *Conflict*.

⁴²⁹ Shagan, *Catholics*, pp.1-2 & 1.

⁴³⁰ Lake, "Anti-papery"; for the wider historiographical context see, R. Cust & A. Hughes, "Introduction: after Revisionism" in Cust and Hughes (ed.), *Conflict*.

⁴³¹ S. Clark, *Thinking with demons: the idea of witchcraft in early modern Europe* (Oxford, 1997).

⁴³² Admittedly, since Questier's account finishes in 1640, there is an adjacent gap in the historiography; M. Questier, *Catholicism and Community* (Cambridge, 2006); G. Glickman, *The English Catholic Community* (Woodbridge, 2009).

⁴³³ A. Milton, "A Qualified Intolerance" in Marotti, A. (ed.), *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern Texts* (Basingstoke, 1999), p.109.

tradesmen and others'.⁴³⁴ Critically, and in a sense closing the loop back to Lake's formulation, Milton argues that it was this active presence of 'Catholicism' at the level of the everyday, and the sense that critical divisions were not as clear-cut as they ought to be, that, at particular historical conjunctures, gave anti-papery its polemical purchase and disciplinary power. At such times, people, practices and materials that had until then seemed harmless, might suddenly be 're-coded' as dangerously 'popish', with all the extra-textual consequences that might follow.

A final feature of this historiography is the sense that critical categories - understood both as historical 'facts' and as historiographical terms of analysis - were not fixed but the subject of contestation. This has already been hinted at in the comment above that anti-papery was an attempt to establish and maintain the fixity of such categories. Yet as Lake and Questier have noted, we should not, as some historians in the not too distant past seem to have done, take such polemical representations as historically accurate.⁴³⁵ Understood in this fashion, such master categories as 'Protestant' and 'Catholic' - let alone subsets like 'Puritan' and 'Papist' - cease to be transparent terms linking uniform and readily identifiable confessional blocs defined by some simple yet occult reference to internal belief, but looser terms created in and through public discourse. This is not the same, of course, as saying anyone could be described in any fashion: we are not in the world of the Humpty Dumpty. Instead such identities were constructed, maintained, contested, appropriated, enacted (and so on, and so on), in various more or less public forums in a process that might be labelled the politics of identification. This insight has provided the basis for work by the likes of Patrick Collinson and Lake and Questier on the complex interplay between cultural representation and social practice in the construction of religious - as well as other forms of - identity.⁴³⁶ It links the recent work on English Catholics and Catholicism to interest in the public sphere; an intersection exemplified in the work of Lake and Questier, separately and in tandem. As Lake and Questier's remarkable oeuvre has demonstrated, English Catholics were participants in this space as agents (albeit often at a disadvantage), and not merely as the discursive 'effects' or flesh-and-blood victims of anti-papery.⁴³⁷

⁴³⁴ Milton, A., "A Qualified Intolerance", p.91.

⁴³⁵ Lake & Questier, "Agency, Appropriation and Rhetoric", p.66.

⁴³⁶ See especially, P. Collinson, "Ben Jonson's Bartholomew Fair", in D. Smith, R. Strier & D. Bevington (ed.), *The theatrical city : culture, theatre, and politics in London, 1576-1649* (Cambridge, 1995); P. Lake w/ M. Questier, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat* (New Haven, 2002). The influence of Stephen Greenblatt's notion of 'self-fashioning' and literary approaches seems, at least to me, both very clear and extremely beneficial in these works, see S. Greenblatt, *RF*.

⁴³⁷ The two critical works here are Lake & Questier, "Agency, Appropriation and Rhetoric" and "Puritans, Papists, and the "public sphere" in early modern England: the Edmund Campion affair in context", *Journal of Modern History*, 72:3 (2000) pp.587-627.

Attending to this dialectic between Catholic self-representations and hostile representations of Catholics (or ‘Papists’) has a salutary effect on renderings of the public sphere, at least in the Restoration. As it attempted to fix the ‘essential’ identity of Catholics and Catholicism, anti-papery was simultaneously an attempt to delineate and delimit the public (or ‘political nation’; or whichever normative collective political subject is preferred) on an explicitly confessional basis. That is, in these polemical engagements – often occurring at moments of political crisis – it is possible to see the shift from a public sphere characterized by inclusive and pluralistic practices to the public as a unitary, and necessarily exclusive, identity: a phenomenon that has, for obvious reason, been of great interest to historians of the French Revolution.⁴³⁸ At stake was less who might speak in public, but rather which public identities those who wished to do so might assume. Here the critical difference is between being a Catholic in public and being publicly Catholic. Or to make the point in (Anthony) Milton’s more elegant prose, ‘anti-Catholicism [was] the “politically-correct” language of the day which could never openly be challenged without considerable danger’.⁴³⁹ Here then the focus is not on the familiar tropes of expansion, participation and anonymity, but instead on exclusion, prescription and identity: the dark side, if you will, of the public sphere.⁴⁴⁰ Returning from the realms of the abstract to the historical, in the case of the post-Reformation, this involved the refiguring of English Catholics from the category of familiar ‘neighbour’ – with it associated norms of behaviour – to that of the exotic, foreign ‘Papist’. I would suggest that for all its limitations, Pepys’ ‘thick description’ of the everyday alongside the extraordinary provides an exceptional view into one instance of these politics of identity and identification.

In this chapter I do not intend to dwell on the biographical issues of authorship in any detail. In the first instance, I have dealt with these topics in some detail (though not admittedly to general satisfaction) in the past.⁴⁴¹ Secondly, the main concern here is with the two pamphlets’ conflicting textual representations of self and ‘other’, and with Pepys’ reception of these texts. Fortunately the question of authorship does not appear to have unduly troubled Pepys – at

⁴³⁸ On this phenomenon in French historiography, particularly in relation to ‘The Terror’, see H. Mah, “Phantasies of the Public Sphere: Rethinking the Habermas of Historians”, *The Journal of Modern History*. 72:1 (2000), pp.153-182.

⁴³⁹ Milton, “A qualified intolerance”, p.110.

⁴⁴⁰ For a powerful expression of these issues see N. Fraser, “Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy”, in Calhoun, *Habermas*.

⁴⁴¹ D. Magliocco, “The Cuckold, the Priest, His Wife & Her Lover: the publicity of politics & the politics of publicity”, *17th century British History Seminar*, IHR, London, 24th May 2012.

least as far as we can tell from his diary entries on these two occasions. It is of course possible that he did know the authors – he certainly knew of them as individuals at this time. It seems implausible, however, particularly given his enthusiastic response to their polemical efforts, that he would not have identified them if he had connected them to their respective pamphlets. With that proviso, I would nonetheless wish to register here that both authors deserve more interest than they have recently attracted. Although Martin Dzelzainis has addressed Castlemaine’s publishing activities as far they intersect with Andrew Marvell’s, Castlemaine’s larger corpus of work, and his self-fashioning more generally await further investigation.⁴⁴² There is an irony here (at least under the patriarchal assumptions that shaped 17th century society), that as in his life, Castlemaine remains in the shadow of his wife, Barbara Villiers: a figure whose attempts to fashion a public persona have recently attracted renewed and sympathetic interest.⁴⁴³ The contention here is that Castlemaine, because rather than in spite of his social and political handicaps, was positioned in an intriguingly liminal relation to Restoration society; a structural position that was in some sense worked out in his numerous publications.⁴⁴⁴ William Lloyd has, if anything, fared even worse: if not in reputation, then certainly in terms of historical interest. Besides a rather interesting biography; including a scrape with the authorities for pulling practical jokes in Interregnum Oxford, and an altogether more a serious one with James II in 1688, Lloyd straddles Welsh and English identities (a possible Three Kingdoms approach beckons), whilst his interests in popery, prophesy and publication are modish as well as alliterative: a study of this pleasingly post-revisionist prelate is surely in order.⁴⁴⁵

The publication of these texts was shaped by three overlapping historical frames. The first of these was the post-Reformation conflict between spiritual and temporal loyalty: a wider, transnational conflict of which these English debates formed an imperfectly integrated subset.⁴⁴⁶ Pursuing this martial metaphor, ubiquitous in this corpus, one mid-18th century

⁴⁴² M. Dzelzainis, “Marvell and Castlemaine” in W. Chernaik (ed.) *Marvell & Liberty* (Basingstoke, 1999) Dr Eoin Devlin’s forthcoming monograph on Castlemaine’s embassy to Rome should however address the latter part of his life.

⁴⁴³ See for instance, J. Marciari Alexander, “Painted Life: The case of Barbara Villiers, Duchess of Cleveland” in K. Sharpe & S. Zwicker, *Writing Lives: Biography and Textuality, Identity and Representation in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2008).

⁴⁴⁴ For ‘liminality’ and its uses, see V. Turner, *Dramas, Fields and Metaphors* (Ithaca, 1974), esp. Chapter 1.

⁴⁴⁵ For biographical details see M. Mullett, “Lloyd, William”, *ODNB*.

⁴⁴⁶ Q. Skinner, *Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (Cambridge, 1979), Vol. 2; R. Kingdom, “Calvinism and Resistance Theory”, and J. Salmon, “Catholic resistance theory, Ultramontaniam, and the

compendium of a century's worth of such English anti-Catholic material depicted the Protestant polemicists, '*engag'd with Popish Priests in close Combat...when some one or more particular Points are agreed upon for the Subject of Dispute, and Authorities from Scripture and Antiquity are to be produc'd, and discuss'd at large.*'⁴⁴⁷ Whilst this may have been deliberately gesturing towards the university disputation, such debate reached audiences far beyond the confines of these elite institutions.⁴⁴⁸ Furthermore, whilst it is possible to distinguish between a more rarefied and polite debate on the finer points of doctrinal dispute, on the one hand, and a more knockabout and popular (even vulgar) polemical genre, on the other, such engagements had a tendency to degenerate from the former to the latter. Indeed, as the textual engagement discussed below demonstrates, authors could readily switch between rhetorical or generic register (and back again) within a single text.⁴⁴⁹

In their English context, this polemical *mano-a-mano* stretched back at least as far as the 1580s (although conflict within pre-Reformation Catholicism, sometimes over similar issues, went back much further).⁴⁵⁰ They also continued beyond the Restoration. Without wishing to endorse Jonathan Clark's view of an unchanging spiritual landscape stretching not, it turns out, into the 19th century future, but the 21st century present, it is noteworthy that Lloyd's response to Castlemaine was thought worth republishing in 1746 – another moment of 'foreign' Catholic threat the English Protestant nation.⁴⁵¹ The marginal annotations on the British Library's copy of this edition suggest that knowledge of both the historical events and polemical production of this earlier period continued into 'the long 18th century'. Commenting on the crisis of the mid-1580s, this active reader commented, 'When some popish priests, Jesuits & their bigoted pupils would have assumed the glory of suffering for their faith & Religion, in the reign of Q. Elizabeth; [cut]'; before adding, 'The Lord Cecil, wrote & published a proof & demonstration, that their execution, was not for Religion, but for treason only [cut]'.⁴⁵² These comments are indicative of an informed and engaged public or audience for this material, and the conflict it embodied, that extended well into the 18th century, expanding

royalist response, 1580 – 1620", in J. Burns (ed) *The Cambridge History of Political Thought, 1450-1700* (Cambridge, 1991).

⁴⁴⁷ *The Preservative against Popery* (London, 1738), Vol. I, p.i, original emphasis.

⁴⁴⁸ For popular audiences see Lake & Questier, "Agency, Appropriation and Rhetoric" and "Puritans, Papists and the 'Public Sphere'".

⁴⁴⁹ The dizzying switch in rhetorical register and generic form was a notable feature of the Marprelate tracts, important stylistic precursors in the English context for later debates. Pepys retained a copy of 'Marprelate', *Oh read over D. John Bridges...* (1588?), in his library, (PL1428/17).

⁴⁵⁰ See Burghley, *Execution of Justice in England*, (London, 1583); Allen, *An Answer to the Libel of English Justice*, (Douai?, 1584).

⁴⁵¹ J. Clark, "Secularization and Modernization".

⁴⁵² W. Lloyd, *An Apology In Behalf of the Papists...Reprinted and answered by WILLIAM LLOYD, sometime Bishop of St. Asaph* (London, 1746), marginalia, original emphasis, pp.4 & 5, '[cut]' indicates where the BL (or earlier owner) physically cut the pamphlet.

at particular moments of crisis. Those participating in these polemical exchanges were undoubtedly conscious of operating within this discursive tradition. This was demonstrated by, amongst other things, their recursive arguments and, frequent citation of authoritative texts – the ‘*Authorities from Scripture and Antiquity*’ noted in the quotation above. Marianna, Suarez, and Bellarmine, Luther, Calvin and Knox, amongst others, were all regularly invoked, often mischievously, and frequently recorded in frantic marginal additions. The Restoration, by putting questions of religious affiliation and political loyalty at the centre of public discourse and political life, represented a new campaign in this on-going conflict, albeit one that was shaped by the course of recent and anticipated events.⁴⁵³ As Peter Lake and Michael Questier have shown, these debates raised the central question – religious and political - of the proper border between ‘temporal’ and ‘spiritual’ allegiance, and fed directly into questions of agency and identity, both individual and collective.⁴⁵⁴

The second context was the troubled Restoration settlement.⁴⁵⁵ Charles’s irenic Declaration of Breda – promising ‘a liberty to tender consciences’ in matters of religion - had helped create the ‘popular front’ that affected his return.⁴⁵⁶ The ensuing power struggle over the *precise* forms that the religious settlement would take was conducted in public – in print, the pulpit and more-or-less private conversation - as well as in the more familiar seats of power. In what resembled the Hobbesian ‘war of all against all’, it set Protestant against Protestant as much as Protestant against Catholic. The Act of Uniformity that emerged in 1662 enshrined a narrow, Anglican interpretation of Protestantism; alienating Presbyterians, Independents, sectarians and Catholics alike.⁴⁵⁷ This debate and the settlement that followed are indicative of an over-riding, if not unanimous, preoccupation with Protestant ‘extremism’, as opposed to ‘Popery’, in the early years of the Restoration. The settlement itself represented a form of Anglican ideological over-reach that, by including Presbyterians and ‘moderate’ Independents in the ranks of non-conformity, shattered the broad-based Protestant coalition that had so recently supported the Restoration.⁴⁵⁸ Indeed if this settlement was undoubtedly a triumph for the Anglican interest, it would nonetheless prove in many respects to be a Pyrrhic one. In part this was due to the failure of the disciplinary apparatus set up under the successive provisions of

⁴⁵³ See J. Champion, “Political Thinking between Restoration and Hanoverian Succession”, in B. Coward, (ed.), *A companion to Stuart Britain*, (Oxford, 2003), p.479.

⁴⁵⁴ Lake & Questier, “Agency, Appropriation and Rhetoric under the Gallows: Puritans, Romanists and the State in Early Modern England”, *Past & Present*, 153 (Nov., 1996), pp.64-107.

⁴⁵⁵ The best accounts are Seaward, *The Cavalier Parliament*, and Hutton, *Restoration*. The comments in this paragraph follow these accounts.

⁴⁵⁶ See Hutton, *Restoration*.

⁴⁵⁷ See Seaward, *Reconstruction*, J. Spurr, *The restoration Church of England, 1646-1689* (New Haven, 1991).

⁴⁵⁸ See G. De Krey, *London and the Restoration, 1659 – 1683* (Cambridge, 2005).

the Clarendon Code to do their bidding.⁴⁵⁹ The ‘persecutory state’, to use Mark Goldie’s term, was, it turned out, not always good at persecuting. Or, more accurately, it was not as good as Anglicans had hoped; although, to pile qualification upon qualification, in certain places, at particular times, and against specific groups, notably the Quakers, it could prove all too effective.

Equally, Charles’s public support for Indulgence, coupled with his publicly-affirmed sympathy for his Catholic subjects generated considerable, if intermittent, anxiety amongst Protestants, and persistent hopes amongst Catholics. In December 1662, when he introduced his first Declaration of Indulgence, Charles – or at least the textual royal voice – informed his subjects that, ‘We think it may become Us *to avow to the World* a due sense We have of the greatest part of Our Roman Catholick Subjects of this Kingdom, having deserved well from Our Royal Father of Blessed Memory, and from Us, and even from the Protestant Religion it self, in adhering to us with their Lives and Fortunes for the maintenance of Our Crown in the Religion established, against those who under the name of zealous Protestants, imployed both Fire and Sword to overthrow them both. We shall with as much freedom *press unto the world*, that it is not Our Intention to exclude Our Roman Catholicks Subjects, who have so demeaned themselves, from all share in the benefit of such an Act, as in pursuance of Our Promises’.⁴⁶⁰ Here Charles provided his own reading of recent English history and the role of English Catholics (and certain Protestants) within it. In these remarks, and not coincidentally, Charles anticipated many of the arguments, and interpretation of recent history, that Castlemaine would subsequently make in his *Apology*.

As hostile responses – in Parliament and outside of it - demonstrated, this was not a religious policy, a historical narrative or a collective identity that many within the political nation subscribed to – at least in public. Halifax’s epigrammatic observation that ‘when he [Charles] came to England he was as certainly a Roman Catholic as that he was a man of pleasure, both very consistent with visible experience’, may well have been both retrospective and self-vindictory, but it captured a contemporary concern regarding Charles’s religion.⁴⁶¹ Early in his reign, even Charles complained about the instability of his religious identity, informing

⁴⁵⁹ M. Goldie, “The Theory of Religious Intolerance in Restoration England” in O. Grell, J. Israel, & N. Tyacke (ed.), *From Persecution to Toleration : The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England* (Oxford, 1991).

⁴⁶⁰ *His Majesties Declaration of Indulgence to All his Loving Subjects, December 26th, 1662*, (London, 1662), pp.10-11; emphasis added. See also Charles’ pointed remarks to Parliament when forced to withdraw the Indulgence, Feb., 1662/3, The King’s Speech to Parliament, BL Add MS 10,117, ff.62 & 62v.

⁴⁶¹ Quoted in H. Foxcroft, *The Life and Letters of Sir George Savile, First Marquis of Halifax &c.* (London, 1898), II, p.345.

Parliament that, 'hee was so unfortunate that while he was abroad hee was accounted a papist and since his returne a presbyterian'.⁴⁶² Jacqueline Rose has recently discussed this destabilizing vacuum at the centre of the religious settlement, and hence the Restoration polity as a whole, commenting that, 'Restoration monarchs swung, sometimes with alarming rapidity, between upholding the Church and undermining it'.⁴⁶³ The contrasting emotions that such statements and actions promoted were only intensified by the all too visible presence of Catholics - and suspicions of further concealed crypto-Catholics - at Court; and that institution's continental, even counter-Reformation, sensibility. In this respect at least, there was continuity between the courts of Charles II and his father.⁴⁶⁴ Rather than settling religious forms then, the Restoration settlements, taken in conjunction with the ambiguous and ambivalent position adopted by the King himself, inserted a destructive instability into the heart of Restoration politics: a circumstance that encouraged polemicists as much as activists to enter the religious fray.

The final, and immediate, context of *The Apology* was the combustible atmosphere in the aftermath of the Fire of London. Coming in the midst of an exhausting but inconclusive conflict with the Dutch, and following on the heels of the plague, the Fire proved a particularly traumatic experience. All contemporary commentators remarked on rising levels of xenophobia, and of anti-popery in particular. Sometime in September, the London-based Frenchman, Denis de Repas informed Sir Robert Harley that, 'Of all the time I have been in England I did never dislike my being here but five days of the last week, wherein I was half dead by word of killing all French and Dutch'. In an interesting comment on both popular and gendered participation in 'local government', he added, 'Yett I have no reason to complain of Englishmen for yt Alarum but only of Englishwomen who only cause yt tumult having their corps of guards in severall streets and did knock downe severall strangers for not speaking good English, some of them were armed with Spitts, some with [?] staffs and ye Captaine with a broad sword'.⁴⁶⁵ As De Repas's letter indicated, such public suspicion, fear and anger was not directed solely towards the French and Catholics. Nor was it contained within the capital. Bulstrode Whitelocke was informed by his neighbour, the 'Anglican Royalist', Sir Seymor Pyle, that 'in the time of the fire in London, there were 60000 presbiterians, with French and Dutch

⁴⁶² Mar., 1661/2, "The kings speech", BL Add MS 10,117, f.13v. This quotation, from Rugge's diurnal, indicates interest in this as a 'news item'

⁴⁶³ J. Rose, *Godly kingship in Restoration England: the politics of the royal supremacy, 1660-1688* (Cambridge, 2011), p.5.

⁴⁶⁴ M. Smuts, *Court culture and the origins of a royalist tradition in early Stuart England* (Philadelphia, 1987).

⁴⁶⁵ Sep., ?, 1666, D. De Repas (London) to Sir R. Harley, BL Add MS 70,010, f.317. De Repas may, of course, be indulging here in gendered rhetoric at a moment of national crisis rather than social reportage.

up in armes, and that the kings forces had fought with them, and killed 30000 of them...among them eleaven [sic] Ousted Ministers'.⁴⁶⁶ Clarendon, who correctly believed the Fire had been an unfortunate accident, informed Ormonde that he, 'never knew so great a sharpnesse and animosity against the Roman Catholiques, as appears at this present', qualifying this statement by adding a hierarchical rider, 'I mean amongst persons of quality and condicion'.⁴⁶⁷

Public discourse was increasingly dominated by anti-popery: stories abounded of popish plotting at court, Jesuits haunting the capital's prisons, and a rumoured general massacre of the Protestant population by their Catholic countrymen.⁴⁶⁸ The Secretary of State, Arlington, was, for example, informed by one of his correspondents in Devon that, 'The disaffected in the West are very busy, employing men and women to inform up and down that the Queen Mother intends to bring in Popery'. In a worrying post-script to this already troubling narrative, Arlington's informant added, 'and that the King countenances it'.⁴⁶⁹ In another account, which connected Jesuits and the French, via Henrietta-Maria, to the Court, the Parliamentary commission set up to investigate the Fire later reported that, 'Mr Hawking Keeper of Newgate did Inform that the said Mr. Harvey the Jesuit did frequent the Prison under pretence of the Queens charity, and did spend much time with the Prisoners in private, and particularly did so before execution, night after night'; Harvey was confessor to Henrietta-Maria.⁴⁷⁰ Besides the fear of pre-execution conversions – a phenomenon investigated by Michael Questier and Peter Lake – Hawking's testimony indicated another contemporary fear: mass conversion to Catholicism.⁴⁷¹ This is a reminder that, whatever the extent of the actual Catholic population (however measured), it was contemporary perception of its size that mattered at the time. Thus, another witness, the rhyming, 'Mr Hancok, Minister of Chillnock' – his status and profession no doubt adding to his credibility – informed the Commons committee that, 'meeting with Mr. Tompson...coming from Masse out of Somerset House-Chapple, and discoursing with him about his Religion, asked him if there were many turned lately, To which [he] answered, Thousands', before adding as explanation, 'There will be a change suddenly'. 'Tompson' (occasionally identified as Nathaniel Thompson, the Exclusion era journalist and publicist), was subsequently hauled before the Committee and accused of running a 'Popish'

⁴⁶⁶ 7th September 1666, *The Diary of Bulstrode Whitelocke, 1605-75*, (ed.) R. Spelling (Oxford, 1990), p.709.

⁴⁶⁷ 22nd Sep., 1666, Clarendon to Ormonde, Bodl. Carte MS 47, f.127.

⁴⁶⁸ For rumours of massacres see, Pepys; the declaration was published the same day that Pepys noted many had predicted a massacre perpetrated by the English Catholics, 10th Nov., 1666, Pepys, vii, pp.364-5.

⁴⁶⁹ 11th Aug., 1666, Exeter, Peter Crabb to Arlington, *CSPD*, 1666-1667, pp.30-31.

⁴⁷⁰ *London's Flames Discovered*, (London, 1667), p.10; *Commons Journal*, 20th Oct., 1666 & 24th Oct., 1666.

⁴⁷¹ Lake & Questier, "Agency, Appropriation and Rhetoric".

bookstore out of Somerset House: a fear of Popish polemical production - and a public voice - that would resurface in later pamphlets.⁴⁷² Fears were not, however, confined to Catholic conversion and crypto-Catholicism. Towards the end of October, the Presbyterian M.P., Sir Edward Harley, informed his wife on the Welsh border of the discovery of 'some desperate Daggers; fit for massacres, 200 of wch were found in ye rubbish of a Hous[e] in London wherein before ye Fire two French persons lodged'; the discovery that these were whaling knives did little to dampen fears.⁴⁷³

Accounts often focused on the figure of the 'papist', publicly – and, it's tempting to add, conveniently - confirming Protestants' worst fears; Harley for instance, reporting, 'of general apprehensions of the Papists grounded on many of their insolent expressions'.⁴⁷⁴ The hostility that such expressions might provoke, is indicated by De Repas's earlier cited report on local (and rather indiscriminate) responses to 'strangers'. Spurred on by such sentiments and by the promptings of that veteran anti-papist, William Prynne, Parliament called for the expulsion of Priests and Jesuits, the strict execution of existing laws against 'Popish Recusants' and the tendering of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to all civil and military officers.⁴⁷⁵ The centrality of Prynne and Henrietta-Maria in these events - the first as protagonist, the latter as both a representative 'Court-papist' and, quite plausibly, active protagonist too - provides a nice reminder of the important continuities, here in terms of participants, between Restoration anti-papery and its early Stuart predecessor. On the 10th November a Declaration was duly published, signalling the confessional-cleansing of public space and purging of the body politic.⁴⁷⁶

From internal evidence and the external evidence of its suppression, *The Apology* must have been completed and published after this Declaration – besides events referred to, it helpfully

⁴⁷² *London's Flames Discovered*, (London, 1667), p.10; see discussion of Lloyd's *Answer*, discussed below. W. Burns, "Thompson, Nathaniel (d. 1687)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/67197>, accessed 12 Aug 2013].

⁴⁷³ 27th Oct., 1666, Sir E. Harley (Westminster) to Lady Harley, BL Add MS 70,010, f.339.

⁴⁷⁴ The Presbyterian M.P. Sir Edward Harley, for instance, informed his wife in October of the 'general apprehensions of [the] Papists grounded on many of their insolent expressions', 27th Oct., 1666, Sir E. Harley (Westminster) to Lady Harley, BL Add MS 70,010, f.339. The vocal Catholic is especially evident – and forthcoming – in *London's Flames* (London, 1667), *passim*.

⁴⁷⁵ This move was initiated in the Commons but gained the support of the Lords; for details see *CJ*, 26th Oct., 1666; see also *CJ*, 14th & 17th Nov., 1666.

⁴⁷⁶ For a private report see 1st Nov., 1666, (Whitehall), H. Muddiman to George Powell, (Pembroke), SP 29/177/6.

provides a date on the final page, '16th November'.⁴⁷⁷ It is a slim work, running to a mere fourteen pages in quarto format. The basic typography suggests a hurried print job. Castlemaine in fact later complained that the pamphlet 'was very falsely printed ...as if there had been a private correspondence, betweene my Adversary and him [i.e. *The Apology's* printer]'.⁴⁷⁸ Indeed, it has something of the *piece d'occasion* about it, although, as I hope to show, it is none the less interesting for that. It appeared anonymously and without official sanction. Given the evident desire for publicity that Castlemaine demonstrated over his authorial career, it seems safe to discount any residual notion of a 'stigma of print', and to assume instead he was aware of the potentially sulphurous nature of his work.

Eschewing a separate title page, *The Apology's* address 'To all the ROYALISTS that Suffered for His MAJESTY, and to the rest of the Good People of England', is a clear attempt to establish its intended public, 'the Royalist'.⁴⁷⁹ The remainder of the pamphlet is a plea for the inclusion of English Catholics within this legitimizing Restoration political category. As becomes clear, this fashioning - or literary construction - of a common identity also contains an act of exclusion; the identification of its 'other'. To use the pamphlet's own formulation, this would encompass those that had not 'suffered for His Majesty'; a category which the pamphlet would proceed to clarify and populate. *The Apology* takes the form of an address or speech; its author, 'the Apologist', positioned as the advocate for an idealized English Catholic community.⁴⁸⁰ It is, nonetheless, also a personal and thoroughly historicized voice; identifiable with the somewhat dissonant authorial personas of 'the Restoration wit' and 'the person of quality'.⁴⁸¹ If the latter is dominant, in an instance of the former register, the author described Henry VIII as monarch that 'never spared woman in his lust, nor man in his fury'; a comment that provoked his respondent into a splenetic (if also, one suspects, largely synthetic) rage. Interestingly, the authors cited as authorities for this observation were 'two famous Protestants', Sir Walter Raleigh and Lord Cherbury. This provides a nice instance of using one's opponent's co-religionists to bolster one's own rhetorical points - a kind of polemical judo.⁴⁸² This voice, or voices, allowed the author to gesture beyond his divisive confessional identity towards the social status and an elite culture shared with his intended audience. He thus claims 'we have as

⁴⁷⁷ [Castlemaine], *To all the Royallists that Suffered for His Majesty, and the rest of the Good People of England The Humble Apology of the English Catholicks* (London?, 1666).

⁴⁷⁸ [Castlemaine], *The Reply*, (? , 1668), p.274.

⁴⁷⁹ [Castlemaine], *The Apology*, p.1.

⁴⁸⁰ One of the principal tasks of classical and renaissance rhetoric was the training of lawyers, B. Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric* (Oxford, 1988).

⁴⁸¹ Whereas the 'wit' was a detached critic of prevalent ideological values the 'person of quality' stood as their engaged defender and exemplar. The former was invariably associated with the city, and normally with London, whilst the latter was typically, although not invariably, situated in 'the country'.

⁴⁸² [Castlemaine], *The Apology*, p.5.

much birth amongst us as *England* can boast of, so our breeding leanes your way...in Court and Camp'. The last comment, additionally, acted as a none-too-subtle gesture towards Catholic military service during the Civil Wars and to their prominence in the armed forces after the Restoration.⁴⁸³

The text's title, 'the *humble* apology' also indicates its main rhetorical register. It is written in the pathetic mode – a style that renaissance rhetoric advised for the arousal of an audience's sympathy – although its author is unable to entirely suppress occasional flashes of anger (see below). The Apologist thus repeatedly 'beseeches' his audience, and constantly alludes to the 'sufferings' of his co-religionists.⁴⁸⁴ Beyond these rhetorical requirements, the adoption of this particular voice may also have been intended to neuter charges of sedition that recourse to publication might provoke, and more specifically of alleged Catholic commitment to resistance theory. Thus the opening sentence states, 'The Armes which Christians can use against Lawful Powers, in their Severities, are only Prayers and Teares...we hope it will not offend you if (after we have a little wip't our eyes) we sigh our complaints to you': at once an emotional appeal and an indication of Catholic political obedience.⁴⁸⁵

The text's immediate aims were straightforward even if the development of its arguments is somewhat haphazard: to forestall the recent parliamentary measures against Catholics, and to rebut the allegations circulating in public discourse in the autumn of 1666. Highlighting the inconvenient fact that the sole culprit found for the Fire was a Protestant, the author noted drily that, 'Yet truly in this our ingenuity is great, since we think it no Plot, though our Enemy, an *Hugonot* Protestant, acknowledged the fact, and was justly executed for his vain Confession'. Turning next to the rumours of a 'papist' massacre of the capital Protestant population, he noted, 'if a Merchant of the Church of *England* buy Knives for the business of his Trade, this also is present a Papist contrivance to destroy the well affected'.⁴⁸⁶ Yet beyond revealing the contradictions and even the absurdities of public fears, the pamphlet had larger polemical ambitions. Indeed for all its claims to humility, it was an audacious work, directly challenging the historical narrative of Restoration anti-papery and recasting its familiar Catholic subject. In sharp contrast to their dominant representation in much recent public discourse, Castlemaine asserted the loyalty, patriotism and bravery of English Catholics past and present. Hence he noted that: 'Of all Calumnies against Catholicks we have admired at none so much, as that their Principles, are said to be inconsistent with Government, and they

⁴⁸³ [Castlemaine], *The Apology*, p.3, original emphasis.

⁴⁸⁴ [Castlemaine], *The Apology*, 'beseech', pp.4 [2], 7 [2] & 9; 'suffer' and 'suffering', pp.2, 3, 5, 6, 7 & 8.

⁴⁸⁵ [Castlemaine], *The Apology*, p.1.

⁴⁸⁶ [Castlemaine], *The Apology*, p.6.

themselves thought ever prone to Rebellion'.⁴⁸⁷ In an argument also used by Anglicans, he noted that, 'tis morally impossible that we who approve of Monarchy in the Church, must ever be fond of it in the State also'. As with Anglican polemicists, this implicitly raised the spectre of the alleged levelling tendencies of Presbyterians and other Protestant non-conformists.⁴⁸⁸ This structural argument was supported by evidence of contemporary practice. 'We shall only add this', he noted, 'that if Popery be the enslaving of Princes, *France* still believes itself as absolute as *Denmark* or *Sweden*'; another example of the centrality of France to English thought.⁴⁸⁹ These arguments also serve as a reminder of widespread knowledge of European affairs, discussed in Chapter 2.

Turning from principle to practice, the pamphlet offered an alternative reading of post-Reformation history; one at odds with the more familiar, mainstream Protestant narratives. Indeed, Castlemaine indicated a pre-Reformation England, what Anthony Milton has referred to as a shared English Catholic past, when he commented, 'Farr be it from Catholicks to perplex Parliaments, who have been the Founders of the[i]r Priviledges, and all Ancient Laws: Nay, Magna Charta it self had its rise from us'; although in a rider that gestured to how contemporary concerns over loyalty and disobedience shaped Restoration discourse and Catholic interventions in it, added, 'Which we do the less boast of, since it was not at first obtained in so submiss and humble a manner'.⁴⁹⁰ Similarly, a number of pre-Reformation English kings were enlisted as Catholic champions; perhaps the most interesting being that most exemplary of English kings, Henry V.⁴⁹¹ 'Be pleased that Henry the 5th. be remembred' he noted, 'who did those wonders of which the whole world doe still resound, and certainly all History will agree in this, that 'twas Ol[d]-Castle he feared, and not those that believed the Bishop of R[o]me to be Head of the Church'. The presentation of Oldcastle, for Foxe a proto-Protestant martyr, highlighted the potentially disruptive nature of the English past on Protestant historical narratives. Now it was the turn of Protestant narratives to be revealed as sites of resistance to monarchical authority. Similarly, the familiar Protestant indictments against English Catholics in the post-Reformation period were subjected to a less familiar interpretative spin. Far from being a sign of endemic disloyalty, Catholic Elizabethan plotting was reinterpreted as a sign of precocious loyalty: "Twas for the Royal House of *Scotland* that they suffered in those days, and 'tis for the same Illustrious Family we are ready to hazard all

⁴⁸⁷ 'Inconsistent' may be 'inconsonant', though this does not alter the meaning of the quotation, [Castlemaine], *The Apology*, p.2.

⁴⁸⁸ [Castlemaine], *The Apology*, p.7.

⁴⁸⁹ [Castlemaine], *The Apology*, p.2.

⁴⁹⁰ [Castlemaine], *The Apology*, p.1; Milton, "A qualified intolerance".

⁴⁹¹ Invoked, for instance, by John Evelyn in his account of the French-Spanish fracas at Tower Hill, [J. Evelyn], *A True Relation...* (London, 1661), see Chapter 2.

on any occasion'.⁴⁹² The Gunpowder Plot was, in turn, a Cecilian 'conjunction'; the 'trepanning' of a few, admittedly misguided, Catholics to further the personal interests of an ambitious Machiavel.⁴⁹³ Indeed Castlemaine even went so far as to parallel Cecil's machinations against the Catholics to those more recent actions of Oliver Cromwell against the Cavaliers.⁴⁹⁴ In each case, the innocence of the majority of Catholics was affirmed, and the commonplace connection drawn to Catholic principles denied. By contrast, in advertising the purportedly unanimous nature of Catholic Civil War Royalism, he claimed an affective bond, even a common identity, with the Cavalier 'party'. He 'beseeched' his auditors to 'remember how synonymous ...was the word Papist and Cavaleer; for there was never no Papist that was not deemed a Cavaleer, nor no Cavaleer that was not called a Papist'.⁴⁹⁵

This lesson in history and current events was not mere pedantry, but part of a more ambitious political programme. In the first instance, 'That firm tie' created an obligation on the part of the Royalists not merely to protect their former comrades from renewed persecution, but to extend them a degree of religious toleration.⁴⁹⁶ This serves as a reminder that Castlemaine's intervention was part of a wider and longer debate on the terms of religious orthodoxy, and the relationship between English Catholics and the English Church and State.⁴⁹⁷ This proposed departure from common European practice was justified not merely on affective grounds, but on the basis of a comparative study of other European polities; a reminder, if it were needed, that such debates were conducted within a European frame of reference.⁴⁹⁸ The main point of comparison for Castlemaine was France; a stick also used by non-conforming Protestants to beat the persecuting Anglican establishment.⁴⁹⁹ Here the author compared the situation of English Catholics, particularly in light of the recent reinforcement of anti-recusancy laws, with the condition of the Huguenots in France. There the author noted, 'they have publick Churches, where they can make what Proselytes they please; and where 'tis not against Law to be in any charge or [public] employment'.⁵⁰⁰ The French example was bolstered by that of the Dutch, although not, it should be said, with the same enthusiasm. Castlemaine noted that the Dutch 'Magistrates (that are harsh in both mind and manners) refraine from violence against our Religion', adding that, 'These barbarous people sequester none for their faith, but for the

⁴⁹² [Castlemaine], *The Apology*, p.5.

⁴⁹³ [Castlemaine], *The Apology*, pp.4-5.

⁴⁹⁴ [Castlemaine], *The Apology*, p.5.

⁴⁹⁵ [Castlemaine], *The Apology*, p.3.

⁴⁹⁶ [Castlemaine], *The Apology*, p.3.

⁴⁹⁷ Lake & Questier, "Continuities of Catholicism".

⁴⁹⁸ For the 'common practice' of European states at this time see J. Marshall, *Locke and Toleration*; A. Walsham, *Charitable Hatred* (Cambridge, 2006).

⁴⁹⁹ I again have to thank Professor Miller for pointing out this parallel.

⁵⁰⁰ [Castlemaine], *The Apology*, p.4.

transgression against the State'.⁵⁰¹ Here Castlemaine, despite the rhetorical requirements of his larger case, seems unable to shake off an antipathy to the Dutch polity that he shared with his Anglican Royalist contemporaries. By contrast in England, 'tis not only a Fine for hearing Mass, but death to the Master for having a Priest in his House; and so far we are from Preferment, that by Law we cannot come within 10. miles of London'.⁵⁰² These unfavourable comparisons to France and the Dutch Republic were unusually charged at a time when both were at war with England.⁵⁰³ In a clever rhetorical move, Castlemaine then identified individual Catholics who had assisted Charles II during the Civil Wars and Interregnum, and thus exemplars of loyalty and obedience to the Stuart monarchy, but now found themselves punished under the restored recusancy laws.⁵⁰⁴ Here Castlemaine was aligning himself with the growing agitation for toleration that has been identified around this time; although, like many of his Protestant counterparts, toleration for some was accompanied demands for the persecution – or at least demonization – of others. In this instance, Castlemaine's position offers support for Shagan's recent argument about the aggressive character of early modern 'moderation', albeit from a somewhat unusual, i.e. Catholic, standpoint.⁵⁰⁵

Having exploded the notion of a 'Popish Plot' (at least to his own satisfaction), Castlemaine substituted another conspiracy, and another set of conspirators, in its place. The real threat to the nation, he claimed, emanated not from the evidently loyal Catholics, but from the machinations of a conspiratorial clique of English Protestants: 'These', he noted, 'are they that by beginning with us, Murdered their Prince, and wounded you [i.e. Castlemaine's 'Royallist' auditors]; and shall the same method continue.'⁵⁰⁶ In recalling the events of 1641, he was refracting the present through the familiar prism of anti-puritanism; shrewdly playing to Cavalier resentment of Presbyterians, 'free in their fat possessions that sate at Judges...of that great Prince of Happy Memory'.⁵⁰⁷ This elision of Presbyterians with more radical sectarians and even republicans was a commonplace of Cavalier polemic during the early years of the Restoration. There even seems a hint of the social anxieties and resentments that the 'world turned upside down' had fostered, when the pamphlet states, 'Little do you think the Insolencies we shall suffer by Committee-Men, &c. whom chance and lot has put into petty

⁵⁰¹ [Castlemaine], *The Apology*, p.7.

⁵⁰² [Castlemaine], *The Apology*, pp.4 & 4-5.

⁵⁰³ See Scott, *England's Troubles*, Ch.1.

⁵⁰⁴ [Castlemaine], *The Apology*, p.3.

⁵⁰⁵ Shagan, *Moderation*.

⁵⁰⁶ [Castlemaine], *The Apology*, p.2; see also to 'remember who are the Prime Raisers of the Storm, and how through our Sides they would wound both the King and You', [Castlemaine], *The Apology*, pp.3, 8-9.

⁵⁰⁷ [Castlemaine], *The Apology*, p.3; on anti-puritanism, see Lake, "Anti-Puritanism". On Restoration anti-puritanism, re-named as Anglican-Royalism, see Pincus, *P&P*.

power'.⁵⁰⁸ To ram this historical lesson home, Castlemaine reminded his audience that 'a stigmatized man' – William Prynne again – was once more 'a chief promoter of it'; alluding to his still controversial role in Caroline politics.⁵⁰⁹ Here Castlemaine was trying to forge a common identity with Anglicans through a focus on a shared antagonist: Protestant non-conformity and its supposed bedfellow, political republicanism. As Michael Questier has noted, this strategy of equating certain aspects of Reformed Protestantism with seditious political practices was an old polemical tactic – and often an article of faith – amongst Catholic writers.⁵¹⁰ The pamphlet's text then concluded, in a resumption of the pathetic mode, with an emotive appeal to a shared Civil War experience, for the sakes of those that Lost their Estates with you': 'Many of which are now fallen asleep [i.e. dead] if this still be too Weak, we must conjure you by the Bloudy Catalogue, which contains the names of your murdered Friends and Relations, who in the Heat of Battail, perchance have saved many of your Lives, even with the joyful Loss of their own'.⁵¹¹ There followed a dramatic paratextual flourish: a six page list, printed in red ink identifying those English Catholics, killed, wounded or impoverished in service to the Stuarts.⁵¹²

In this intervention then, Castlemaine was seeking to revolutionize the Restoration settlement as well as the terms of public discourse by fracturing the existing Anglican-Presbyterian political nexus, and forging in its place a new political identity. This would be defined not along the traditional confessional axis of Protestant vs. Catholic, but on the basis of more recent, Civil Wars' affiliation: between 'the Royalists that suffered for his Majesty', on one side, set against the former 'Rebels', 'the Common Enemies of us both'. This latter group, the pamphlet made clear, implicitly elided moderate Presbyterians, the likes of Prynne for instance, with the more radical Protestant groupings, the regicides and the sects, on the other.⁵¹³ Having rearranged these normative political identities, Castlemaine at the same time wished to revise the terms of the Restoration religious settlement to allow for the toleration of a separate but public Catholic identity. Castlemaine was 'writing Royalism'; a Royalism that was capacious enough to tolerate loyal English Catholics, but with no room for rebellious, non-conforming Protestants.⁵¹⁴ Indeed many of the tropes and arguments and much of the evidence that

⁵⁰⁸ [Castlemaine], *The Apology*, p.8.

⁵⁰⁹ [Castlemaine], *The Apology*, p.3.

⁵¹⁰ M. Questier, "Arminianism, Catholicism, and Puritanism in England during the 1630s", *The Historical Journal*, 49:1 (Mar., 2006), p.61. This connection is also evident, for instance, in the Venetian Resident, Giavarina's dispatches, *CSPV*, 1661-4, *passim*.

⁵¹¹ [Castlemaine], *The Apology*, p.9.

⁵¹² [Castlemaine], *The Apology*, pp.9-14; quote p.9.

⁵¹³ [Castlemaine], *The Apology*, p.8.

⁵¹⁴ This term comes from R. Wilcher, *The Writing of Royalism* (Cambridge, 2001); see also, G. Stedman Jones, *Languages of Class* (Cambridge, 1983), especially, pp.23-4.

Castlemaine produced here would fit comfortably in any of the more intemperate Anglican (or Anglican Royalist) attacks on all forms of Protestant non-conformity of the early Restoration period; and of later Tory attacks during the Exclusion Crisis: a reminder of the proximity, in key respects, of certain forms of Catholic- to certain forms of Anglican polemic. Indeed, as Peter Lake and Michael Questier have recently argued, such polemical positioning by moderate English Catholics, an attempt to ride on the anti-Puritan band-wagon, had a much longer history, reaching back as far as the 1580s and 1590s.⁵¹⁵

The Apology swiftly attracted attention. On the 28th November, three days before Pepys saw it, the Secretaries of State had ordered the suppression of ‘a scandalous pamphlet...entitled *An Apology of the English Catholics*’, and called for a ‘strict enquiry after the author and printer, that they may be apprehended and brought to condign punishment.’⁵¹⁶ At a time when the government was stretched to breaking point *The Apology* seems to have been allocated more administrative time than any other pamphlet or libel.⁵¹⁷ As these investigations continued through December, a fascinating insight into London’s publishing ‘underground’ emerged. They revealed the actors, sites and practices behind a particular clandestine text’s circulation – a world of taverns, hawkers, printers and priests. The examination in fact seems to have triggered a series of denials and incriminations that led the authorities step-by-step to their intended targets, the author and printer. The first set of inquiries, or at least those that have left a trace, uncovered a distribution network centred on a Westminster tavern, the Bell and Three Cranes. Two hawkers claimed that they ‘had it [“The Catholics’ Apology”] from John Brereton. Brereton acknowledges receiving 200 copies from two gentlemen in the Bell and Three Cranes’ tavern, by the Savoy, Strand, and 100 more from a gentleman living near Charing Cross, and selling the same to dealers and in the street’. (The wonderfully-named) Francis Fox next revealed, ‘that a porter called him, Monday, Nov. 26, to the Bell and Three Cranes, and the gentlemen asked him to dispose of a parcel of books, but hearing they were a vindication of the Catholics, he dared not meddle with them; he told this to Brereton, who offered to take them, and he took Brereton to the gentlemen’. The mistress of the Bell and Three Cranes, a ‘Mrs Layton’, and two of her employees, identified, ‘Matthias Gateley and another gentleman,

⁵¹⁵ Lake and Questier, “Continuities of Catholicism”, unpublished paper, unpaginated; I am grateful to both authors for sharing this work with me, and for discussing its content and implications for my own work.

⁵¹⁶ The order came from the Privy Council, 28th November 1666, Whitehall, CSPD 1666-7, p.296.

⁵¹⁷ For the strain that the government was under see Seaward, *Cavalier Parliament*, Chapters 10 & 11; the assessment of attention given to *The Apology* is based on the state papers and McKenzie & Bell, *A Chronology and Calendar of Documents...Book Trade, 1641-1700*, (Oxford, 2005), Volume I, 1641 – 1670.

with a large deal box, and to the coming of the hawkers into their chamber.’⁵¹⁸ Gateley denied everything but admitted he had taken a parcel to his master, the Earl of Ailesbury’s house, and that he ‘went to Mr. Billingsley’s house, who showed him the Catholics’ Apology’.⁵¹⁹

As the authorities moved further upstream in their inquiries, a second set of interviews uncovered details of the pamphlet’s composition and publication. In the course of these, witnesses clearly identified Castlemaine as *The Apology’s* author and as a party to its subsequent distribution. Under examination towards the end of December, Thomas Osborn revealed that, ‘A month ago, [he] went to the house of Milburn the printer, with Lord Castlemaine, and at his lordship’s entreaty’, where he ‘helped him to compare a written paper with one half printed, which he supposes was the Roman Catholics’ Apology’. Osborn claimed he, ‘did nothing in dispersing them, but saw several copies in Lord Castlemaine’s hands; believes him to be the author, the copy being in his hand[writing]; saw him disperse some of them’. Osborn concluded, probably anxiously, he was, ‘not a Roman Catholic.’⁵²⁰ Thomas Milburn (or ‘Milbourn’), seemingly *The Apology’s* printer, examined the same day as Osborn, claimed that, ‘Thos. Osborn came several times to the printing house, with a person of quality of low stature’. Turning to the procedures of composition and publication, Milburn informed his interrogators, ‘at first Osborn remained below, but once went upstairs with the gentleman, and stayed three or four hours, about a proof. Milburn saw the little gentleman first with one Scroop or Pugh; he brought the copy, and ordered and paid for the printing of "The English Catholics’ Apology," Mr. Osborn only read the proof with him’. Milburn claimed not to know the identity of the author.⁵²¹ Little is known of Milburn. According to Plomer, he operated out of Jewin Street, near Aldersgate; and, besides failing to win a contract to publish *The Gazette*, is only of note for his involvement in this dispute.⁵²² From the evidence then this appears to have been a case of ‘authorial publication’, to use Love’s terminology, on Castlemaine’s part, and of commercial opportunism on Milburn’s part.⁵²³

Whilst the pamphlet’s printer, Thomas Milburn was duly punished - he had his presses broken, was imprisoned in the Gatehouse, and, alarmingly, was informed by the Master of the Stationers ‘that he would teach [Milburn] to apply himself to [Mr.] L’Estrange’ - no official

⁵¹⁸ 5th Dec., 1666, Minutes of examinations relative to the sale of a pamphlet entitled "The English Catholics’ Apology.", *CSPD*, 1666-7, p.323.

⁵¹⁹ 5th Dec., 1666, Examination of [Matthias] Gateley, *CSPD*, 1666-7, p.323.

⁵²⁰ 20th Dec., 1666, Examination of Thos. Osborn, of Westminster, *CSPD*, 1666-7, p.361.

⁵²¹ 20th Dec., 1666, Examination of Thos. Milburn and his wife, *CSPD*, 1666-7, p.361.

⁵²² "Milbourne, (Thomas)", H. Plomer, *Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers, 1641 – 1667* (London, 1907), p.128.

⁵²³ Love, *Scribal Publication*; 20th Dec., 1666, Examination of Thos. Milburn and his wife, *CSPD*, 1666-7, p.361.

move, less still 'condign punishment', ever seems to have been made against its author, despite Castlemaine's clear identification. (Although in a twist on Milburn's fate – although not one that will surprise scholars of the early modern book trade - there is an indication that his punishment may have been as much for infringing patents as seditious printing).⁵²⁴ Castlemaine, nonetheless, seems to have left London shortly after this, later noting, 'After Christmas...I not only went out of Town, but have ever since been many score of miles distant from it'. Given the proximity to Milburn's examination, on the 20th December, this may have been as a sensible precaution against potential sanctions. Alternatively Castlemaine may have simply wanted to absent himself from the increasingly anti-Catholic environment in London. Finally, the motivation for his departure from the capital may have been as innocent as wanting to spend the festive season with family or friends in the country.⁵²⁵

State coercion, however limited, was not the only, or even perhaps the most important, response to *The Apology*. Given the dynamics of early modern publicity, other protagonists soon entered the field.⁵²⁶ I intend to concentrate, here, on one response, *The Late Apology...Answered in behalf of the Royallists* – hereafter *The Answer*. *The Answer's* exemplarity is based on its popularity, its extended engagement with *The Apology*, and, finally, it was a work that Pepys both read and commented upon. Like *The Apology*, *The Answer* appeared anonymously; although a 1667 reprint including the name of the publisher, the respected Henry Brome, suggests that here this may have been a question of decorum rather than anxiety at the possible consequences.⁵²⁷ Like the Apologist, its author claimed to speak on behalf of 'the Royallists'. Lloyd's lengthier pamphlet, some forty-six pages in quarto, and its animadversive form, enabled him to attack *The Apology* point-by-point, albeit it at substantial cost to the fluency and coherence of his argument.⁵²⁸ In contrast to the, by turns, humble and urbane Apologist, the Answerer's dominant registers are ridicule and outrage, interlaced with

⁵²⁴ 'Questions to be put to the Master and Wardens [of the Stationers' Company]', 1666?, *CSPD*, 1666-7, p.430. Nevertheless, he appears to have been back in business by 1668, see H. Plomer, *Dictionary*, 1641 – 1667, p.128.

⁵²⁵ The source of these movements is Castlemaine himself, [Castlemaine], *The Reply*, pp.44-5, there seems no obvious reason to doubt these claims. For Milburn's punishment see n.d., 1666?, *CSPD*, 1666-7, p.430, & 11th Jul., 1667, Whitehall *CSPD* 1667, p.287.

⁵²⁶ On the dynamics of publicity, Lake & Pincus, *PPS*.

⁵²⁷ [Lloyd], *The Late Apology In Behalf of the Papists reprinted and Answered In Behalf of the Royallists* (London, 1667). Brome was a respected bookseller suggesting that Lloyd's views could be acknowledged even if the author preferred to retain the partial shield of anonymity.

⁵²⁸ In *The Reply to Answer*, Castlemaine commented on this form, 'Insipid, I call this Method, because there is no art or contrivance in it; nor is possible but the best Reply in the World must be then frigidly stiff', [Castlemaine], *The Reply* (London, 1668), p.48.

scholarly exposition.⁵²⁹ Lloyd relied heavily on *ad hominem* attacks; abusing the wit, status and honour of his anonymous opponent, and questioning his right to enter public discourse.⁵³⁰

The Apologist's substantive arguments were similarly subjected to robust if often casuistic treatment. Lloyd first insisted on the axiomatic relationship between Catholic principles and the rebellious Catholic subject, stating these to be 'utterly *inconsistent with Government*...And he that has imbib'd this Faith, may well be *thought ever prone to Rebellion*.'⁵³¹ He expressed horror at the Apologist's use of the term 'misdemeanour' to cover Elizabethan and Jacobean plotting. He then lingered over treacherous Catholic practices in those periods, warning the Apologist 'neither to Disparage those dayes, by endeavouring to perswade the world that which suffered then for Treason died for Religion'; the standard Cecilian line.⁵³² Forced to admit the wartime Royalism of some English Catholics, he adopted two not entirely consistent lines. First he denied these actions any agency, thus emptying them of ethical content: 'In *England* it is true' he noted 'some came in voluntarily to assist him [i.e. the King]; but many more of you were hunted *into his Garrisons*, by them that knew you would bring him little help and much hatred'.⁵³³ Next, apparently conceding individual agency, he denied that in those specific cases Catholicism was a collective causal factor: 'That many Gentlemen of your Church were not of your Party, we do willingly acknowledge; and that some of them in that critical day of Danger, did the King very eminent Service. But so did Protestants too; therefore you cannot ascribe this to Your *Religion*'.⁵³⁴ In other words, either Catholics did not act from choice, or they did not act as Catholics.

Indeed far from being its victims, Catholics were instead the instigators of the Troubles. 'The Rebellion that led to it', *The Answer* claimed 'began we know in *Scotland*, where the design of it was first laid by Cardinal *Richelieu His Majesties irreconcilable Enemy*. Then it broke out in *Ireland*, where it was blest with His Holiness's Letters, and assisted by his Nuntio, whom he sent purposely to attend the Fire there'; the final metaphor presumably an obvious allusion to

⁵²⁹ The effortless shifts in tone; from ridicule, to scholarship, to outrage, and back again seem to have been a feature of early modern cultural production from 'Marprelate' to Hobbes; see Q. Skinner, *Reason & Rhetoric in the philosophy of Hobbes* (Cambridge, 1996).

⁵³⁰ For example; 'all your pretences to *Honor and Loyalty*' [Lloyd], *The Answer*, p.3; 'But because the Genius of your Writing does not give us any such Hopes of You', [Lloyd], *The Answer*, p.46.

⁵³¹ [Lloyd], *The Answer*, p.4; see also, 'this Council [i.e. the Lateran Council] which made Rebellion a Duty', [Lloyd], *The Answer*, p.4.

⁵³² [Lloyd], *The Answer*, p.46.

⁵³³ [Lloyd], *The Answer*, p.14; see also: 'you were driven into his Majesties Garrisons; where, besides those that Voluntarily offer'd them[selves] to his Service, many of you were Necessitated to it for a subsistence, and many more of you did not serve him at all, but only shrowded your selves under his Protection. Whereas the Protestant Royallists had no such Necessity, for they might have been welcome to the Rebels', [Lloyd], *The Answer*, p.44.

⁵³⁴ [Lloyd], *The Answer*, p.13.

the recent Fire of London. 'Lastly here in *England*, you did your parts to unsettle the People and gave them needless occasions of jealousie, which the vigilant Phanaticks made use of, to bring us all into War and Confusion.'⁵³⁵ Beyond providing a nice contemporary instance of the Three Kingdoms interpretative frame, Lloyd thus elided English Catholics with Irish Catholics, foreign Catholic powers and the Papacy; questioning their Englishness as he affixed them to a transnational, but still 'foreign', Catholicism.

Appropriating the Apologist's anti-puritanism for his own purposes, Lloyd disowned those radical English Protestants that had so recently been first 'rebels' and then regicides, and finally republicans. Clutching the cadaver of Charles I, he stated the regicides 'were neither then nor since of our Communion; but that blessed Prince was, whom they murther'd'; sidestepping their all too obvious Protestantism.⁵³⁶ On the other hand, he was anxious to exonerate and distinguish Presbyterians through the figure of Castlemaine's *bête noire*, Prynne. 'Pray be you as favourable to the *stigmatized Man* as His Majesty; for whom he lately did his utmost against [the] Phanaticks toward the bringing of him in: and he would not willingly live to see the Pope turn him out again'.⁵³⁷ The pamphlet concluded with an unseemly struggle over the confessional affiliation of Castlemaine's Catholic corpses, Lloyd accusing his adversary of 'tak[ing] this libert[y] of stealing Martyrs'.⁵³⁸

Lloyd's *Answer* then in many ways projects a negative image of Castlemaine's *Apology*. It reiterated a more recognizable narrative; re-stating the key elements of confessional histories, re-establishing critical identities, and defending the *status quo* in Church and State. Throughout *The Answer*, Lloyd sought to bolster the polemical markers of anti-popery. The 'good' Catholic – to the extent he existed – was confined to the private realm, while the public Catholic was excoriated as a conspirator and rebel, if not in fact in practice then certainly in waiting. *The Answer*, in a charge that linked publicity and disguise in public discourse, warned his interlocutor and his Catholic confederates to desist from, 'disguising themselves like Hectors, or mingling with Gentlemen, to poyson the Clubs and Coffee-Houses with Phanatick Discourses, or even with Atheism it self, to destroy all Religion', adding '[we] desire them not to fill the World with their Pamphlets, *Parallels*, *Philanaxes*, *Exhortations*, *Apologies*, &c which tend only to the fermenting of Mens Passions, not at all to the conviction of their Reason'.⁵³⁹ Here Lloyd advertised widespread contemporary anxieties over the relationship between

⁵³⁵ [Lloyd], *The Answer*, p.12.

⁵³⁶ [Lloyd], *The Answer*, p.11.

⁵³⁷ [Lloyd], *The Answer*, p.13.

⁵³⁸ [Lloyd], *The Answer*, p.45.

⁵³⁹ [Lloyd], *The Late Apology...Answered*, (London; 1667), p.46.

public discourse and public reason (or lack thereof).⁵⁴⁰ Thus the author of *The Answer* was able to invert, as he rejected, the Catholic subject that *The Apology* had fashioned.⁵⁴¹ At the same time, he placed the radical, regicidal Protestant firmly outside of the Anglican fold; a *via media* of persecution. Lloyd too was writing Royalism – but in his case as an identity that could comprehend moderate Presbyterians, as it excluded English Catholics and Protestant ‘Phanaticks’.⁵⁴²

The circulation and readership of these pamphlets are hard to quantify with any certainty. We can take recourse to the bare facts of survival and reproduction provided by the ESTC and EEBO.⁵⁴³ We also know, for instance, that Lloyd’s *Answer* was reprinted at least twice in 1667 (and subsequently including 1746), suggesting on-going public interest in this debate. Castlemaine’s response to *The Answer*, *The Reply to the Answer...* published the following year, provided a further stimulus to public interest in the original textual dispute. In addition, the two antagonists’ renewal of hostilities, addressing broadly similar issues, in 1672-4 could have drawn attention back again to this prior polemical engagement.⁵⁴⁴ Given *The Answer*’s animadversive form, this pamphlet would have further publicized Castlemaine’s argument, albeit in a polemically-distorted form. Finally, we can infer a readership from Pepys’ comment that *The Apology* was ‘cried up’ and from the government’s response. As Pepys’ actions demonstrate, that prohibition was as likely to increase as reduce that audience: almost an ahistorical truism in the history of censorship. In fact, there is additional evidence to Pepys’ that this was the case on this occasion too. Early in December Williamson received an inquiry regarding ‘some Popish pamphlets in the country much applauded’, accompanied by a request for the offending material. This query is instructive in a number of respects. It establishes both knowledge of and a demand for *The Apology* well beyond London; in this instance in distant Cornwall. His comment that the pamphlet was ‘much applauded’ confirms Pepys’ observations on its reception and his appreciative gloss.⁵⁴⁵ The comment, ‘some popish pamphlets’ also

⁵⁴⁰ For a slightly later period, see Knights, *Representation*.

⁵⁴¹ For the opposition between ‘patriotism’ and Catholicism: ‘we doubt not there have always been some of your Church, in whose generous breasts the *English* man has been too strong for the *Papist*’, [Lloyd], *The Answer*, p.7.

⁵⁴² E.g., ‘what did they [i.e. ‘Phanaticks’] to be called *Protestants*? or what did *we* to be *judged Popishly Affected*?’ [Lloyd], *The Answer*, p.14; ‘if all *Papists*, as you say, were *deemed Cavaliers*; we hope some of them have had the grace to be ashamed of it’, Lloyd, *The Answer*, p.14; Wilcher, *Writing of Royalism*.

⁵⁴³ Wing/ESTC indicates that many copies of both pamphlets survive.

⁵⁴⁴ Dzelzainis “Castlemaine”; [Castlemaine], *The Reply* (London, 1668).

⁵⁴⁵ 5th December 1666, Falmouth, Thos. Holden to James Hickes, *CSPD*, 1666-7, p.321. In fact, sea-routes may have made Falmouth more accessible than many inland areas geographically closer to London. I am

suggests that there may have been other such texts in circulation at the time; a suggestion that supports Protestant claims of Catholic involvement in public discourse. It is possible of course, though I think given the timing and the publicity surrounding it not particularly plausible, that it was not *The Apology* that was requested. This, again, would merely indicate further ‘popish pamphlets’ - in addition to Castlemaine’s - in circulation in the autumn and winter of 1666-7, and confirm a public that was curious about those items.

But for a better, albeit qualitative, sense of the circulation of these texts we should instead turn to Pepys’s ‘thick description’ of his engagement with *The Apology* that opened this chapter. For Pepys was not reading this recently-banned, now ‘cried up’, seditious pamphlet in a coffeehouse or even a tavern, let alone at home, but at the Mitchells’ book-stall in Westminster Hall. Here the political and legal worlds of Restoration London met. This then was a public venue then in more sense than one.⁵⁴⁶ As the presence of Mitchell’s stall reminds us, it was also a site of commerce and leisure; a venue to shop, and to see and be seen. And, of course, as Pepys shows us it was a place where those hungry for political information came to consume, exchange, even, perhaps especially, to produce the news. Chris Kyle and Jason Peacey, in an observation that echoes the arguments of Chapter 1, have noted, ‘As with areas of London such as St Paul’s churchyard and the Exchange, the presence of shops fostered a social dimension to the role of the Hall’.⁵⁴⁷ The Mitchells were, in fact, friends of both Pepys and his wife, Elizabeth, and their stall served as a regular meeting point for the couple.⁵⁴⁸ The discovery of *The Apology* in Westminster Hall then, allows us to confidently speculate that its contents would have been widely circulated and discussed; both within London and beyond its confines, and by a socially diverse audience - just as the responses of the authorities and its textual respondents indirectly indicate. Pepys’ observation that he was only allowed a ‘sight’ of it might be taken to mean that it was so ‘hot’ a title at the beginning of December 1666 that Mitchell did not wish to sell his copy (although this seems rather surprising commercial practice; perhaps it was pre-sold to another customer).⁵⁴⁹ If we add Pepys’ appreciative (and concise) gloss of *The Apology* to these discursive practices we can glimpse the existence of a mode of critical reading and a body of active readers; a socially-grounded referent to Castlemaine’s and Lloyd’s imagined audiences. That is, what Pepys’ encounter with this

unaware of anyone yet producing a map of early modern England re-shaped to take account of travel times.

⁵⁴⁶ See C. Kyle & J. Peacey, “‘Under cover of so much coming and going’: Public access to Parliament and the Political Process in Early Modern England” in C. Kyle & J. Peacey (ed.), *Parliament at Work* (Woodbridge, 2002). To complete the circularity of this reference, the authors in turn cite Pepys as providing the best insight into the culture of Westminster Hall, p.5.

⁵⁴⁷ Kyle & Peacey, “Under cover”, p.5.

⁵⁴⁸ Pepys, x, p.246.

⁵⁴⁹ Alternatively again, I may have simply misinterpreted this entry.

pamphlet reveals is a public of readers, writers and disputants; a politicized public or public sphere in which such texts circulated, and were read and responded to.

Pepys provides an immediate context for this particular incident; a familiar mixture of work, consumption, sociability and desire. His entry for the 1st December involved a circuit, by water, from the Navy Board office to Whitehall and Westminster Hall, and back again, by coach, via the Strand to home. Whilst at Westminster Hall, Pepys succumbed to one of his cravings – his insatiable desire for news (although it may have been another form of desire that had initially led him there; ‘where I was again defeated in my expectation of Burroughs’, the Mitchell’s married daughter). Making the best of this situation, Pepys read, or had his ‘sight of’, *The Apology*. Pepys’s gloss is worth citing in full. He notes it:

‘lamenting the severity of the Parliament against them – and comparing it with the lenity of other princes to Protestants. Giving old and late instances of their Loyalty to their princes, whatever is objected against them. And excusing their disquiets in Queen Elizabeths time, for that it was impossible for them to think her a lawful queen, if Queene Mary, who had been owned as such, were so; one being the daughter of a true, and the other of a false wife – and that of the Gunpowder Treason, by saying it was only the practice of some of us, if not the King, to trapan some of their religion into it, it never being defended by the generality of their Church, nor ended known by them. And ends with a large Catalogue in red Letters, of the Catholiques which have lost their lives in the quarrel of the late King and this [i.e. Charles II]’.

As noted above, Pepys followed this remarkably accurate précis with the judgement that, ‘the thing is very well writ ended’.⁵⁵⁰ Pepys’ accuracy in reproducing Castlemaine’s argument no doubt reflects his personal capabilities and professional practices. It must also, however, demonstrate his personal, and presumably a wider, familiarity with the points in question: contending confessionalized historical narratives; the nature of Catholic political identity; and the current politics of Westminster and Whitehall. Notably, for all his sympathy for the argument, Pepys, consciously or subconsciously, positions himself as part of a Protestant ‘us’ versus a Catholic (or ‘Papist’, Pepys does not specify) ‘them’. Coincidentally, after visiting the Mitchells’ stall Pepys promptly succumbed to another of his notorious desires – his voyeuristic obsession with the royal concubine, Barbara Villiers. He thus notes, ‘Calling at Faythorne’s’, [i.e. William Faithorne, snr., the engraver; his shop was on the Strand], and buying ‘three of my Lady Castlemayne’s heads, printed this day’; finding them ‘a very fine picture, and like her.’⁵⁵¹ Ironically, Pepys’ narrative here places husband and wife in a relationship of, what was by-

⁵⁵⁰ 1st Dec., 1666, Pepys, vii, pp.393-4.

⁵⁵¹ On Faithorne, see Pepys, x, p.128.

now, unaccustomed proximity; clinching evidence, surely, that Pepys was unaware of Castlemaine's authorship.

There is no evidence to suggest that Pepys, in the period he kept his journal, was one of those early modern Englishmen or women for whom anti-popery was central to their world view: a member of what Lake (referring to the early Stuart period) terms "the fused group" of the godly'.⁵⁵² In fact the first time we hear Pepys' textual voice - in a letter to his cousin and patron, Edward Mountagu towards the end of 1657 - it is to provide an account of an unusual dressing-up party in Protector Cromwell's Whitehall. 'Some talk there is', he noted, 'of a plot, but I believe it is merely raised upon the late discovery of so many Jesuit-priests, whose copes and other popish vestments the Protector yesterday made some of his gentlemen put on to the causing of abundance of mirth'.⁵⁵³ Moving into the diary period, in 1662, after a coach trip with his cousin, Thomas Pepys, (Samuel) Pepys commented, 'but, Lord!...how he still cries "Gad!" and talks of Popery coming in, as all the Fanatiques do, of which I was ashamed'.⁵⁵⁴ Besides providing a nice instance of the distinctive linguistic tics of Puritanism, Pepys here also expresses a widespread Restoration reaction against Civil War Puritanism, alongside some peculiarly familial tension. Similarly, in the summer of 1664, Pepys and his colleague-cum-rival, John Creed were, 'very merry to think how Mr. Holliard [i.e. the noted barber-surgeon and Puritan] makes nothing, but proving as a most clear thing that Rome is Antichrist'.⁵⁵⁵ Neither of these entries suggests that Pepys was obsessed by a threat posed to English Protestantism by Popery. The most familiar single piece evidence cited on Pepys' religious positioning comes from a private conversation between Pepys and his patron, Mountagu early in the diary. Pepys notes, 'In the afternoon my Lord and I walked together in the coach two hours, talking together upon all sorts of discourse: as Religion, wherein he is, I perceive, wholly Sceptical, *as well as I*, saying, that indeed the Protestants as to the Church of Rome are wholly fanatiques'; adding, 'he likes uniformity and form of prayer'.⁵⁵⁶ The evidence from the diary - our principal source on this matter - suggests that in the 1660s Pepys was a doctrinally-incurious conformist; generally sympathetic to an extension of comprehension to incorporate Presbyterians and hostile to episcopal excesses, but equally fearful of what he terms 'fanatiques'. In other words, Pepys was comfortably within the capital's Protestant mainstream.

⁵⁵² Lake, "Anti-popery", p.96.

⁵⁵³ 8th Dec., 1657, Pepys to Mountagu (Hinchbrooke), Bodl MS Carte 73, f.118.

⁵⁵⁴ 24th Nov., 1662, Pepys, iii, p.266.

⁵⁵⁵ 28th Aug., 1664, Pepys, v, p.256.

⁵⁵⁶ 15th May 1660, Pepys, i, p.141 emphasis added.

If Pepys seems to have been doctrinally incurious, the same cannot be said with regard to religion considered as a larger field of agents, practices, institutions, and narratives. If not disposed to works on theology, Pepys was certainly keen on ecclesiastical histories. His friend, Thomas Fuller's *The church-history of Britain* was a particular favourite: Pepys records reading it on thirteen separate occasions between 1660 and 1668, and often on Sundays.⁵⁵⁷ On the other hand, he found Peter Heylyn's *Cyprianus Anglicus* (purchased from Pepys' post-Fire bookseller, John Starkey) first 'a strange book', and then 'a shrowd [shrewd] book, but that which I believe will do the Bishops no great good – it pleaded for so much popish'.⁵⁵⁸ Kate Loveman has convincingly argued that Pepys' interest in such works of religious history was connected to his wider interest in 'histories', and that both informed his analysis of the political conjuncture in the present.⁵⁵⁹ Besides such religious narratives, Pepys was interested in religious practice. Perhaps influenced by his Puritan upbringing, he seems to have retained a taste for 'gadding'. In November 1662, for instance, Pepys notes, 'walked to my brother's...calling at many churches and then to the Temple, hearing a bit there too'; to which he added the comment, 'and observing that in the streets and churches the Sunday is kept in appearance as well as I have known it at any time'.⁵⁶⁰ In the aftermath of Black Bartholomew's this was an observation on politics as much as religion (or the politics of religion). He also retained an interest in preaching styles, and more generally the sermon as a performative act: presumably a natural consequence of having to sit through extended church services every week. In late November 1666, Pepys attended the Chapel Royal, where he heard one of the Chaplains Royal, 'a Mr Floyd', preach. Pepys noted that, 'he made a most excellent good sermon...and did it very handsomely, and excellent style'.⁵⁶¹ ('Floyd' was in fact, William Lloyd, the author of *The Answer*). Other preachers, like the young Edward Stillingfleet, appear to have been 'star' performers, attracting large audiences.⁵⁶² Preaching as performance was the subject of publication, and even polemic. Travelling by boat to Chatham in 1668, Pepys read a book comparing various styles of sermon preaching – a mix of Anglican, Presbyterian and Independent – and; both unusually and against the interpretative thrust of the work, preferred the latter two.⁵⁶³ Pepys curiosity extended beyond Christian practice. In October 1663, and not

⁵⁵⁷ See Pepys, xi, p.25.

⁵⁵⁸ 28th Aug., Pepys, ix, p.291.

⁵⁵⁹ K. Loveman, "Reading History in the Restoration: Samuel Pepys and his Books", *British History in the 17th century seminar*, IHR, 29th April 2010.

⁵⁶⁰ 9th Nov., 1662, Pepys, iii, p.252.

⁵⁶¹ 25th Nov., 1666, Pepys, vii, pp.382-3.

⁵⁶² 23rd Apr. 1665, Pepys, vi, p.87; Pepys notes here that he had known (or perhaps only known of) Stillingfleet when at Cambridge.

⁵⁶³ 6th Sep., 1668, Pepys, ix, p.300; the work was A. Wright, *Five Sermons in five several style* (London, 1656).

for the first time, he observed a service at the Jewish synagogue on Creechurch Lane in the City of London.⁵⁶⁴ After predictably noting the separation of men and women, he was critical of the service. 'But Lord, to see the disorder, laughing, sporting, and no attention, but confusion in all their service, more like Brutes than people...and ended, I never did see so much, or could have imagined there had been any religion in the whole world so absurdly performed as this'.⁵⁶⁵ If Pepys' phrase, 'more like Brutes', is shocking to the modern reader, his dislike of 'disorder' was entirely in character. These parallel Pepysian interests – in politics, practice, and performance – can be seen coming together in his long account of William Bates' 'farewell sermon' in August 1662.⁵⁶⁶ Pepys' library contained one of the collections of such 'farewell' addresses; the now familiar interface of oral performance and print publication.⁵⁶⁷ In sum, these activities hardly suggest that Pepys was in any sense disinterested in religion, but rather that he was interested in religious practice and performance, on the one hand, and the extensive if volatile interface between history, politics and religion on the other. In matters of religion, Pepys was a *politique* rather than a *devot*.

Pepys' position in the Restoration religious field and his religious dispositions are nicely illustrated by an incident in the diary: (yet) another book-buying trip. The occasion was the continuing fallout in the spring of 1663 after Charles' abortive Declaration of Indulgence. 'At Westminster Hall this day', Pepys noted:

'I buy a book lately printed and licensed by Dr. Stradling, the Bishop of London's chaplain, being a book discovering the practices and designs of the papists, and the fears of some of our own fathers of the Protestant church heretofore of the return to Popery as it were prefacing it. The book is a very good book; but forasmuch as it touches one of the Queen mother's fathers confessors, the Bishop [i.e. Sheldon], which troubles many good men and members of Parliament, hath called it in, which I am sorry for'.

Beyond providing further evidence of Pepys' bibliophilia, this entry is worth unpicking. The work in question, *Fair Warning: the second part. Or XX prophecies*, was, as Pepys indicated a compilation of writings by former Church of England divines; 'our own fathers of the Protestant church' in Pepys' revealing phrase – amongst them Hooker, Whigft and Laud.⁵⁶⁸ As noted above, the responses of the various parties – recall and disquiet – reveal the tensions

⁵⁶⁴ Pepys had attended the same synagogue during the Interregnum; Bodl. Carte MS 73, f.325.

⁵⁶⁵ 14th Oct., 1663, Pepys, iv, p.335; in fact Pepys noted later the same day that his 'mind [was] strangely disturbed' by this spectacle.

⁵⁶⁶ 17th Aug., 1662, Pepys, iii, pp.167-9.

⁵⁶⁷ *A compleat collection of farewell sermons, preached by Mr. Calamy* (London, 1663), PL 1168.

⁵⁶⁸ *Fair Warning: the second part. Or XX prophecies concerning the return of Popery, etc* (London, 1663).

that existed within the Restoration establishment over the religious settlement from almost the beginning. The prominence of Henrietta-Maria, in Pepys' entry if not the text itself, once more indicates her exemplary status within contemporary constructions of Restoration anti-popery. This incident also serves as a reminder of the opportunistic reprinting and redeployment of earlier interventions in the discourse of anti-popery; the material reproduction of Miller's 'tradition' of anti-popery. Pepys' purchase, again from Westminster Hall (and presumably again from the Mitchells' stall), shows the limits, even the counterproductive character, of early modern censorship at preventing access to proscribed texts (although on the purpose and efficacy of censorship, I endorse the position taken by Anthony Milton).⁵⁶⁹ It also reveals the audience for such polemical production, and, not wishing to place too much interpretative load on one entry, the existence of some prior discourse about the text in question. As if in an subconscious bid to remain on the Anglican *via media*, Pepys bought a second book, 'being a collection of many expressions of the great Presbyterian Preachers upon publique occasions, in the late times, against the King and his party, as some of Mr. Marshall, Case, Calamy, Baxter, &c., which is good reading now, to see what they then did teach, and the people believe, and what they would seem to believe now'.⁵⁷⁰ This text, *Evangelium Armatum*, another instance of opportunistic republication, appears to have experienced no difficulties with the authorities.⁵⁷¹ By these actions, Pepys is again positioning himself within both the contemporary religious mainstream and a public curious about the 'politics of religion'.

That Pepys' curiosity extended to Roman Catholicism should come as no surprise. There will be no attempt here to define precisely what this term encompasses. To do so would be to accept one or other more or less subjective definition, whether made by one of Pepys' contemporaries, or by subsequent generations of historians.⁵⁷² Instead, Roman Catholicism is

⁵⁶⁹ A. Milton, "Licensing, Censorship, and Religious Orthodoxy in Early Stuart England", *The Historical Journal*, 41:3 (Sep., 1998), pp.625-651.

⁵⁷⁰ 25th Apr., 1663, Pepys, iii, pp.111-2, emphasis added.

⁵⁷¹ [Assheton] *Evangelium Armatum. A specimen ... of several Doctrines and Positions destructive to our government both civil and ecclesiastical; preach'd and vented ... by Mr Calamy, Mr Jenkins, Mr Case, Mr Baxter ... and others, &c* (London, 1663). This was republished, in turn, in 1682, i.e. just as the Tory Reaction was gaining force.

⁵⁷² The point, as mentioned before is not to suggest that any definition would be as good as any other, but rather that a precise definition is either so general as to be of little use or involves a judgement. 17th century constructions of 'Popery' were just such attempts to define Roman Catholicism, and may stand as an indication of the problems that all such definitions must face. For a discussion of this issue in the 16th century see, P. Marshall, "Is the Pope Catholic? Henry VIII and the semantics of schism", in Shagan, *Catholics*.

understood as necessarily diffuse and ill-defined; a loose constellation of discourses, participants, practices, institutions and material objects. The most visible of these in the diary is Pepys' engagement with Counter-Reformation Europe. This was a common, if not literally quotidian, subject of more-and-less public discourse that Pepys recorded in his journals; one disposition that, pace Scott and Pincus, he shared with his contemporaries.⁵⁷³ These discussions included but by no means exhausted by such items as Louis XIV, Papal politics and the customs of Spain (for Louis see Chapter 2). If these discussions were generally between Pepys and his fellow countrymen, they also included discussions with 'strangers'. In early 1663, for instance, Pepys met a 'Monsieur Raby', a servant to Sandwich, 'lately come from France', in Westminster Hall. Pepys noted, 'I had a great deal of very good discourse with him, concerning the difference between the French and the Pope, and the occasion, which he told me very particularly, and to my great content...and that the King is a most excellent Prince, doing all business himself...that he courts...his pleasure every other day, but not so as to make him neglect his publique affairs'.⁵⁷⁴ Beyond providing another example of Louis's frequent, and often normative, deployment in Restoration discourse, this demonstrates an interest in and knowledge of the politics of the Catholic powers. As was the case here, Pepys' failure to identify the confessional identities of his interlocutors would seem to indicate that he did not deem this information (and identity) important to their credibility as witnesses or as individuals.⁵⁷⁵

These encounters were positioned alongside similar discourses about not only Protestant Europe, but also of the Islamic world; and even such exotic countries as the 'Gambo'.⁵⁷⁶ Within Pepys' account, these are often framed as travel narratives; a kind of early modern ethnography. These oral exchanges were clearly related to Pepys' reading and collecting practices. In late 1663, Pepys records, 'and so home with great ease and content which I met with in a book I bought yesterday; being a discourse of the state of Rome under the present Pope, Alexander 7th – it being a very excellent piece'. Pepys had bought this account of Papal politics – written in a *politique* mode of the diplomatic *relazione* – the previous day at St Paul's Churchyard.⁵⁷⁷ They were further informed, and perhaps shaped, by the officially-published

⁵⁷³ Pincus, *P&P*, Scott, *England's Troubles*.

⁵⁷⁴ 26th Jan., 1663, Pepys, iv, pp.25-6.

⁵⁷⁵ If he did he would have presumably have included it either way i.e. if he thought Catholics were less reliable as witnesses he would have noted it. Vice versa, if he believed that Protestants were inherently more reliable he would have recorded that.

⁵⁷⁶ On 'the Gambo', i.e. the west coast of Africa, see 16th Jan., 1662, Pepys, iii, pp.10-11. Pepys' interest here seems to have been aroused by the news that his interlocutor, Captain Stoakes, that he and Holmes had been offered 'the choice of any of [the king's] wives to lie with', p.11.

⁵⁷⁷ 18th Dec., 1663, Pepys, iv, p.425. The book was A. Corrado, *Rome exactly described...in two curious discourses* (London, 1664 [misdated]); PL383. This was based on the Corrado's ambassadorial *relazione*.

newspapers. These included (although were not dominated by) sometimes cursory, sometimes exhaustive reports of European issues and events. As discussed in Chapter II, the register was almost always matter-of-fact: far from the moralizing language and heightened rhetoric of anti-popery. In August 1661, for example, *The Kingdomes Intelligencer* reported news from Rome that, 'Cardinal *Paulucci* is departed this world...Cardinal Ghigs, Signior Segni of Bologne who hath been Controller of Pope Innocent the Tenth, is departed this world also...On St *Peters* day the Spanish Ambassador made a magnificent Cavalcado and at the evening there were Bonfires made in all streets'.⁵⁷⁸ Here the Papal court, its public display and internal politics, are described in exactly the same terms as those used for any other princely court and not as the seat of the Antichrist. Indeed, instead of a distinction between a virtuous Protestant 'International', and a vicious Roman 'bloc' intent on destroying it, the dominant division, if one can be extracted from Pepys at all, is between 'civilized' and 'uncivilized' regions of the world.

This drawing of the confessional sting from discussions of Catholic Europe was by no means complete (as will be shown below), but it was aided by the wider European situation. As mentioned above (in Chapter II), the 1660s were not a period of heightened confessional conflict, at least not between Protestants and Catholics. Confessional conflict was, however, far from absent in this period, but was instead defined by a Christian-Muslim axis. Pepys' diary exemplifies the considerable contemporary interest in, and anxiety about, the actions of the Ottomans and their nominal allies, the various Barbary States. In the opening decade of the Restoration Ottoman Turkey was an active and aggressive power; in central and south-eastern Europe, and in the Mediterranean, against Candia (i.e. Crete). In August 1664 for example, Thomas Rugge noted that, 'On the first day of this month their happened a most dreadful fight between the Christians and the turks neere St Gotthart...it pleased God to send the Victory to the Christians', adding that, 'the French withstood the battle most courageously and they fought like Lyons'.⁵⁷⁹ These seem to have been a matter of almost daily discussion at the time. Pepys noted the same event - Montecuculi's victory at St Gothard - but with different emphasis. After detailing the extent of Ottoman losses, Pepys added, 'and the French forces all cut off almost – which is thought as good a service to the Emperour as beating the Turke almost – for had they [i.e. the French] conquered, they would have been as troublesome for him'; an altogether more politique reading of events than Rugge's.⁵⁸⁰ Amongst the works that Pepys retained in his library was *An account of the present war between the Venetians and the Turk*: a handsome octavo volume with engravings of the siege, published in 1666 by the

⁵⁷⁸ "Rome 13. July", *Kingdomes Intelligencer* (London, 1661), 12th – 19th Aug., 1661.

⁵⁷⁹ Aug., 1664, BL Add MS 10,117, f.114v.

⁵⁸⁰ 9th Aug., 1664, Pepys, v, pp.236-7.

prestigious bookseller, Henry Herringman, and written, apparently at Charles II's request, by the Earl of Castlemaine.⁵⁸¹ Castlemaine's creation of a common 'Christian' identity and political interest casts further light on his later, and more domestically-oriented, work.⁵⁸² In these narratives, as Rugge's entry above demonstrates, Catholics could be included within a larger normative identity, 'Christendom', and the Pope and the Emperor depicted as its leaders. Rather than providing evidence for the secularization of the Restoration world view, this seems to indicate that identities were plural. Furthermore, they were not simply religious, or at least not simplistically so. Finally, at different moments different aspects might come into focus, whilst others receded. More generally then, these versions of the overseas world provided Pepys with alternative ways of viewing Counter-Reformation Europe to the refractive (and reductive) lens of anti-popery.

Pepys was also interested in Catholic practices. Like many of his countrymen (and women) he attended Catholic services at the only legitimate Catholic institutions in post-Reformation England: the chapels allowed to ambassadors and to royal consorts.⁵⁸³ As noted above (in Chapter II), Pepys attended mass at the Spanish embassy at York House in May 1661. His comment 'and there heard two masses done, I think, not in so much state as I have seen them heretofore', suggests this was not the first time he had done so; whilst his observation that 'I walked in the morning towards Westminster, and seeing many people at York House', indicates that many of his contemporaries did the same.⁵⁸⁴ Towards the end of September 1662, Pepys was present on the first occasion Catherine of Braganza was able to attend mass at her chapel at St James. Since this entry is fairly representative of Pepys' record of these visits it merits attention. 'I crowded after her', Pepys noted, 'and there stood and saw the fine altar, ornaments, and the fryers in their habits, and the priests come in with their fine copes and many other very fine things. I heard their musique too; which may be good, but it did not appear so to me, neither as to their manner of singing, nor was it good concord to my ears'.

⁵⁸¹ Castlemaine, *An account of the present war...* (London, 1666), PL220. There is no indication that Pepys owned it during the diary period, though, equally, no reason to think he did not. It would have certainly fitted with his interest in maritime warfare and European geopolitics. He was also a regular visitor to Herringman's shop: in Latham's phrase, a 'resort of the literary world', Pepys, x, p.181.

⁵⁸² It is of note that whilst *The Apology* had to be printed anonymously, Castlemaine's authorship of *An Account of the Present War* was openly acknowledged.

⁵⁸³ For ambassadors' chapels, see Pepys, ii, p.102, v, p.103 & ix, p.319; for Somerset House, see Pepys, v, p.63 & ix, p.319; for the Queen's Chapel, Pepys, iii, p.302, v, p.63, vii, pp.87, 99 & 107, viii, pp.116 & 588-9, ix, p.319.

⁵⁸⁴ 19th May 1661, Pepys, ii, p.102; the former comment might suggest that Pepys had heard masses done there before or somewhere else.

Besides his record of the religious aesthetics of this event – the music, the furnishings and so on – Pepys’ use of the term ‘crowded’ seems to indicate both the numbers present but also a surprising lack of decorum. Pepys concluded this report, noting, ‘By and by, after mass was done, a fryer with his cowl did rise up and preach a sermon in Portuguese; which I not understanding, did go away, and to the King’s chappell, but that was done’. Pepys here provides an instance of ‘gadding’ in the very un-Puritan setting of Whitehall.⁵⁸⁵ Interestingly, later that day Pepys noted, ‘I went to my uncle Wight’s...and so all supper did vex my aunt talking in commendation of the mass which I had been at to-day, but excused it afterwards that it was only to make mirth’; an indication of Pepys’ Puritan family upbringing, and perhaps too of some level of suppressed unease the trip had aroused in him.⁵⁸⁶ Indeed the attendance, or ‘flocking’, of English subjects to these events, formally illegal, was the subject of repeated complaint and the occasional Declaration in the Restoration as in other periods of the early modern era; a useful barometer of the centrality of anti-popery as a political issue.

Here then perhaps we can get close to Pepys’ motivation for these illicit yet open visits: a general curiosity which is visible elsewhere in the diaries, and a particular interest in the aesthetic elements of Roman Catholic religious service.⁵⁸⁷ Closer to the end of the diary, on another visit to the same chapel, Pepys noted that, the Portuguese priest was, ‘full of action, but very decent and good, I thought, and his manner of delivery very good’; an entry that is remarkably similar in kind (if not judgement) to his normally abusive entries on his own parish priest, Dr Milles, and a reminder that priests were judged as performers.⁵⁸⁸ Indeed it should be noted that such visits went in both directions. John Evelyn records an incident at St. James Chapel in early 1662 when, ‘Dr. Killigrew’, [Henry Killigrew, Chaplain to Charles II, Almoner to the Duke of York, Canon of Westminster], ‘preached or rather harangued the famous Orator *Monsieur Morus* (on *all things operate for the best to those who love God, &c.*) in *French*: At which was present the *King, Duke, French Ambassador, L. Aubignie, Earle of Bristol & a world of Roman Catholics*, drawne thither to heare the eloquent Protestant’.⁵⁸⁹ Here, unlike Pepys’ trips, there is more than a hint of set-piece religious spectacle: a less gruesome version of the Protestant preaching on the scaffold described by Lake and Questier.⁵⁹⁰ In Pepys, these events are generally recorded in what I would anachronistically term an anthropological (or simply

⁵⁸⁵ See also 27th Sep., 1668, p.319, when Pepys attended, in order, the chapels at Somerset House, York House, and at St James (i.e. the Queen’s chapel).

⁵⁸⁶ 21st Sep., 1662, Pepys, iii, p.202.

⁵⁸⁷ On another occasion, Pepys decided, ‘I do not so dislike the musique’, 1st Apr., 1666. Pepys, vii, p.87.

⁵⁸⁸ 17th Mar., 1667, Pepys, viii, pp.116-7; for priests as ‘performers’ see Lake w/ Questier, “Antichrist”, esp. Ch.14.

⁵⁸⁹ 12th Jan., 1662, De Beer, *Evelyn*, iii, pp.310-1; original emphasis.

⁵⁹⁰ Lake & Questier, “Agency, Appropriation and Rhetoric”.

detached) manner, and might even be included in the now fashionable category of ‘cultural exchange’. There is certainly a sense in these journal entries that these institutions and practices were part of public spectacle – an attraction offered by the City, or to be precise the Court, unavailable elsewhere. As such they might be set alongside entrances, executions, perhaps the theatre; albeit illicit where those others were legal. In Pepys’ representation of these acts of religious and legal transgression there is no whiff of ‘brimstone’. Here as Milton has indicated, Catholicism was seen as something that might be examined and learned from in the same manner that Puritan divines of the early period eagerly acquired Catholic polemic.⁵⁹¹ There is a parallel here to Pepys’ use of another sort of inflammatory material: the famous incident with the copy of *L’eshcolle des filles*. Here Pepys justified this pornographic reading to himself on the grounds, ‘but what do no wrong once to read for information sake’, and as, ‘not amiss once for a sober man once to read over to inform himself of the villainy of the world’: Pepys in fact read it twice.⁵⁹² Despite his attempts to justify these actions, he then destroyed the incriminating material.

As his engagement with Catholicism (as a European phenomenon, and as a set of domestic practices and institutions) shows, Pepys also came into contact with actual Catholics. In many cases this identification was explicit; or at least apparent to the later reader. His lunch visit to the Spanish embassy, previously discussed, was one such example. On this occasion, whilst noting the presence of ‘the three Fathers’, there is no other indication of disquiet but instead the sense of shared cosmopolitan values.⁵⁹³ Here Pepys is witness to an elite sociability and transnational identity that might transcend national and confessional boundaries; perhaps a ‘republic of diners’ that bears similarities to a counterpart in the realm of letters.⁵⁹⁴ Within this sphere participation was based upon social status and the cultural capital normally acquired in the humanist education common to Western Christendom (encapsulated on this occasion by Pepys’ ostentatious defence of Cambridge).⁵⁹⁵ Elsewhere, Pepys’ contacts with Catholics are harder to trace. Indeed, even in the example cited above, Pepys does not identify his Spanish

⁵⁹¹ Milton, “A qualified intolerance”.

⁵⁹² 9th Feb., 1668, Pepys, ix, pp.58-9. For a bravura, if not altogether convincing, reading of this incident see F. Barker, *The Tremulous Private Body* (London, 1984), Ch.1.

⁵⁹³ 5th May 1669, Pepys, ix, pp.544-5, and n.3.

⁵⁹⁴ By this comment I in no way wish to suggest that the ‘republic of letters’ was a depoliticized space. Such representations seem a paradigmatic instance of ideological mystification.

⁵⁹⁵ See also: ‘Here I am daily disputing with the Cantabrigians Praeferring Oxford before Cambridg, there is scarce one morning among ten but that there is a fogge or mist enough to choake the whole university: which I believe makes them so dull and stupid’, [Sep./Oct., 1662], Cambridge, Sir Charles Berkeley to John Locke, Locke, *Letters*, i, p.202.

host and co-nationalists as Catholic; he would have simply assumed it to be the case and not worth commenting upon.

This rather simplistic point nonetheless raises a methodological issue. Pepys generally does not comment on religious affiliation or identity in his diary. There are two obvious points to make here. Firstly that the overwhelming majority of those he met with would have been Protestants; although, of course, there were very meaningful divisions within this category that Pepys did on occasion identify. Secondly, that, in the case of Catholics, he did not deem it necessary to raise this as a distinguishing element of identity unless it appeared relevant to the situation. The implication is that this was not always the case. An instance of the latter situation occurs in late 1666, when Pepys stood as godfather to the Lovetts' new child, Samuel, an event presided over by a Capuchin priest from the Queen Mother's religious establishment (tellingly dressed in lay clothes).⁵⁹⁶ The child's father, an engraver, had previously done various jobs for Pepys but in these entries there is no reference to his religious identity. Presumably Pepys did not think it affected his professional capabilities.⁵⁹⁷ It is only as a result of Pepys' acceptance of this social as much as religious responsibility that their Catholicism emerges in his narrative; here we see the well-known early modern phenomenon of the Catholic as unthreatening (and unidentified), because familiar, 'neighbour'. Interestingly, this is also one of the rare occasions when Pepys self-identifies, noting of himself at one point in the ceremony, 'being a Protestant'. Next, and relevant to the claim within anti-popish discourse that there were 'hidden' Catholics, Pepys' failure to identify the 'statistician', John Graunt, as a Catholic, for instance, may indicate that he did not deem this relevant, but, equally, might suggest Pepys was simply unaware of this fact.⁵⁹⁸ As Castlemaine's case showed, one might be Catholic, but in most cases it was not advisable to advertise this in public. Finally, as these cases imply rather than demonstrate, within the social space that Pepys moved it was the Court and embassies that were most clearly coded as, and most openly, 'Catholic'. Yet this world of 'Court' Catholicism should not be thought of as cut-off from the capital, as Pepys' attendance at such varied events as the dinner at the Spanish embassy and the Lovetts' christening show. Here it is possible to see 'Court' Catholics acting in 'the city', and 'the city', in turn, entering the institutions of 'Court' Catholicism: a reminder that in the Restoration period

⁵⁹⁶ Pepys, vii, pp.329-30.

⁵⁹⁷ Pepys was also attracted to Lovett's wife. On Mrs Lovett, see Pepys, vi, p.97; Pepys noted, '[she] showed me much variety of admirable work...I know not whether I was more pleased with the thing, or that I was showed it by her'.

⁵⁹⁸ On Graunt see, Pepys, x, p.160.

the Court remained an important, if not the pre-eminent, and porous centre for what has recently been termed 'cultural exchange'.⁵⁹⁹

Nonetheless, as an inquisitive member of the religious mainstream, Pepys was neither unaware of nor immune to the power of anti-popish discourse. As Miller noted in relation to the Restoration as a whole, anti-papery was not a constant factor in either politics or public discourse. Within the decade covered by Pepys' narrative, this was largely contained to two periods. The first was the period following the issuance of the Declaration of Indulgence in December 1662 and extending through one of its consequences, Bristol's attempted impeachment of Clarendon in the summer of 1663. The second was that under investigation in this chapter: a period which might be dated inexactly from early 1666, before peaking twice at the twin crises after the Fire and the Dutch raid on the Medway, and then persisting, albeit at a lower pitch for the remainder of the Pepys' narrative. The two periods then are distinct, not merely in the sense of being separate, but also in qualitative and quantitative terms. Whilst the former appears to have been a somewhat discreet outbreak, the latter took on the characteristics of a continuous condition; endemic if not yet epidemic. This confirms, as historians of the period have long recognized, that the Dutch War and its political fallout permanently altered the terms of Restoration politics.⁶⁰⁰ The distinctiveness of these two episodes of anti-papery can be traced in a second, and in this case spatialized, fashion relating to the extent and nature of, on the one hand, the perceived Papist threat, and on the other, the public sphere (or publicity) that they generated. In the first instance of the two within Pepys' narrative, there is a sense that, whilst serious, this dispute was contained within the bounds of 'normal' politics and opinion; the court, parliament and polite discourse. In Pepys this is signified by the prominence of the Puritan Crews, Sandwich's kinsmen, and his own cousin, the M.P. Roger Pepys, in his discussions.⁶⁰¹ By contrast after 1666, and particularly in 1667, the politics of papery was of a far greater magnitude, visible in the range of Pepys' interlocutors and the variety of spaces and subjects to which this discourse is attributed. At this time Pepys' construction of the 'Popish' conspiracy is both more expansive and explicit yet

⁵⁹⁹ For a useful survey of the role of Courts in this process in the early modern period across Europe see D. Nolde, E. Svaldudz & M. del Rio Barredo, "City courts as places of cultural transfer", in Calabi & Christensen, *Cities and Cultural Exchange*. For the Caroline period see, M. Smuts, *Court culture and the origins of a royalist tradition in early Stuart England* (Philadelphia, 1987).

⁶⁰⁰ Most recently, Hutton, *Restoration*, Seaward, *Cavalier Parliament*, Pincus, *P&P*.

⁶⁰¹ E.g. Pepys, iv, pp.62, 66, 90, 95 & 211.

less defined. Fears of 'popery' and the extent of the political public were practically and dialectically linked.

Under the pressures of a kind of apocalyptic politics then – of war, pestilence and fire – anti-popery became more prevalent during the political crisis of the mid-1660s. Now anti-popery was explicitly directed against Catholics, rather than, as in the early part of the diary, a polemical resource to be deployed primarily in intra-Protestant name-calling. This resurgence can be traced across private correspondence, in various forms of polemical publication, as well as in parliamentary debate and the reports on public discourse collected by Williamson. Pepys too records this transformation. Indeed he appears to have shared these concerns, without perhaps ever fully committing to the conspiracy theories then in circulation. Shortly after the Fire, on the 5th November 1666, Bonfire Night, after learning at the Presbyterian Lord Crew's 'that it is...certain that it was done by [Papist] plots', Pepys noted, 'I home [i.e. from Whitehall] by coach, but met not one bonfire through the whole town...which is strange, and speaks [of] the melancholy disposition of the City at present, while never more was said of, and feared of, and done against the Papists than just at this time'.⁶⁰² Five days later, Pepys recorded, without a trace of irony, 'This is the fatal day that every body hath discoursed for a long time to be the day that the Papists...had designed to commit a massacre upon; but, however, I trust in God we shall rise to-morrow morning'.⁶⁰³ Whilst the following summer, at the height of fears of a Dutch or French invasion, Pepys – linking concerns about the court, foreigners and Catholicism – wrote 'every body... tell[s] me that people make nothing of talking treason in the streets openly: as, that we are bought and sold, and governed by Papists, and that we are betrayed by people about the King, and shall be delivered up to the French'.⁶⁰⁴ Even in 1668, almost two years after the Fire, and long after alarms over Dutch or French invasions had subsided, fears of Popish plotting remained. When a meteor was sighted in June, Pepys noted that, 'Mr. Hater and Gibson [i.e. his clerks] going home...did meet with many clusters of people talking of it...and the world do make much discourse of it, their apprehensions being mighty full of the rest of the City to be burned, and the Papists to cut our throats. Which God prevent!': a reminder of the persistence of the Papist massacre – whether Parisian or Irish in origin – in the Protestant imagination.⁶⁰⁵ Here 'papists' were figured in the role assigned to them in both Lake's ideal-type and the second pamphlet that Pepys read, Lloyd's *The Late Apology...Answered*: as shadowy, possibly alien figures, engaged in conspiratorial activities, both within and outside of the Court. In these entries, if Pepys never seems to fully endorse

⁶⁰² 5th Nov., 1666, Pepys, vii, pp.356-7.

⁶⁰³ 10th Nov., 1666, viii, pp.364-5.

⁶⁰⁴ 14th Jun., 1667, Pepys, viii, pp.269-70.

⁶⁰⁵ 21st May 1668, Pepys, ix, p.208.

this assigned identity and its associated narrative, nor does he reject them, seeming instead to register simultaneous disquiet and uncertainty.

Despite Pepys' awareness of and unease at this increasingly pervasive concern of 'papist' practices, he was still indulging his curiosity regarding Catholicism over the winter of 1666-67. In late January 1667, almost precisely midway between his appreciative glosses on Castlemaine's and Lloyd's opposed pamphlets, Pepys and his fellow administrator, Lord Brouncker, visited St James' Palace in order to see 'my late Lord Aubigny's' 'Organ'. Whilst the trip was a failure in this respect, Pepys was introduced by his colleague to Phillip Howard, Aubigny's successor as Lord Almoner and Chaplain to Catherine of Braganza. The three men apparently soon fell to talking about matters of mutual interest; first the merits of Catholic church 'musique', and then the rebuilding of Rome taking place under the aegis of Pope Alexander. Pepys noted that: 'He [i.e. Howard] speaks much of the great building that this Pope...hath done in his time', adding parenthetically, '(whom in mirth to us he calls [the] Antichrist)'. Far from alarming his guests with this sulphurous reference, at Pepys' request, Howard then gave his two visitors a guided tour of Catherine of Braganza's Catholic household establishment. Having seen the priest's chambers, Pepys 'wished myself one of the Capuchins', more a reflection perhaps of his wish for 'privacy' (see Chapter IV) than any overwhelming desire for spiritual introspection; less still an anticipation of conversion. The three men then shared a coach to Whitehall, 'talking merrily about the differences in our religions', before going their separate ways.⁶⁰⁶ This incident, with its identification of two Restoration 'Popes', has a wider relevance for Pepys' position in relation to anti-popery. The first 'Pope', indicated by Howard's teasing reference to 'the Antichrist', is, of course, a figure straight out of the familiar discursive field of anti-popery. The second is the Pope as a flesh-and-blood figure, here visible as Alexander VII, the rebuilder of Rome, a Prince among other temporal Princes. Here then is that recognizable early modern dichotomy between the shadowy, but exotic 'Papist' and the quotidian Catholic neighbour, writ large. It was Pepys' ability to dissociate these two figures, his ability to think outside of the categories being imposed by anti-popery and its practitioners that enabled him to read and appreciate each pamphlet notwithstanding their contradictory representations of history and identity. Here Pepys does not appear to be expressing any explicit doctrinal position (his religious beliefs if you will); if anything this meeting seems yet another example of elite sociability and of the aesthetics of religion.

⁶⁰⁶ 23rd Jan., 1667, Pepys, viii, pp.25-7.

This encounter also provides the opportunity to invert Pepys' subject position – to switch from 'Pepys' as the subject of textual representation to Pepys as subject of the public's gaze - and to use these readings to re-examine his religious identity. In other words, if Pepys' practices help us to understand his reading of these texts, those readings in turn help us to explicate Pepys' position in the finely-granulated religious field of Restoration England. Pepys' practices - his 'flocking' to hear Catholic masses, his familiarity with Catholics, both priests and laymen, and his attendance at Court - would have made him suspect in the discursive structure of anti-popery, however he chose to represent them in his journal. Here even the apparently aesthetic; Catholic music, Roman architecture, and so on, is politically-implicated – as Peter Lake has shown with regard to pre-war Laudianism.⁶⁰⁷ Whatever his religious beliefs actually were, his actions were placing him amongst those that were, by an increasing number of his compatriots, deemed as 'popishly-affected' if not actually 'Papists': and outside of the more sharply-defined, normative Protestant public. It is also clear that Pepys was aware of this danger. He seems, for instance, to have feared – mainly for professional reasons - that his wife might alter her religion.⁶⁰⁸ The accusations of 'popery' that later dogged Pepys - starting with Parliament in 1673, then during the Exclusion Crisis, and continuing after the Glorious Revolution - were a result of these same practices. (Ironically, part of the charge in Parliament against Pepys in 1673 was that he had tried to convert his wife to Catholicism).⁶⁰⁹ Pepys' trajectory, from youthful Puritan, cheering at Charles' scaffold, to his old age in the company of Non-jurors, is too readily explicable in terms of his practices, his increasingly public profile over the Restoration, and his identity within the religious field constructed not in relation to internal beliefs but external practices. Or, to put it another way, if Pepys could control his textual representation in the diary he could not control his social representation within public discourse, particularly as his practices, privately recorded in the diary, became public knowledge. Indeed if Patrick Collinson (sounding remarkably like Louis Althusser) is correct, Pepys' identification as, if not a 'papist', then certainly 'popishly-affected', was not merely, 'a process of negative stigmatisation, but also by a measure of reciprocal self-recognition in the

⁶⁰⁷ P. Lake, "The Laudian Style: Order, Uniformity, and the Pursuit of the Beauty of Holiness in the 1630s" in K. Fincham, (ed.), *The early Stuart Church, 1603-1642* (Basingstoke, 1993).

⁶⁰⁸ Elizabeth Pepys appears, from what can be discerned from Pepys' account, to have been both genuinely interested in Catholicism and willing to use it instrumentally as a weapon against her philandering husband, see Pepys, v, pp.39 & 92, ix, pp.338, 378 & 385.

⁶⁰⁹ For the best account of these events, see A. Bryant, *Samuel Pepys: the years of peril* (London, 1952), pp.89-96.

stigmatised'.⁶¹⁰ If Pepys was writing down the discourse of anti-popery in his diary, he was, at the same time, being written by that discourse.

So what then are the wider historiographical lessons of this case study in polemical production and critical reading? Firstly, the recent historiographical transformation of the political paradigm, by altering our notions of what constitutes political action, also requires a transformation of the categories that we use for comprehending Catholic agency in the Restoration, as elsewhere in the post-Reformation period.⁶¹¹ As both Castlemaine's polemical intervention and recent developments in the historiography of English Catholicism show, English Catholics in this period cannot be adequately contained within the descriptive categories of 'court conspirator' and 'country quietist'; a crude re-mapping of the old, normative (and it should be noted Whig history) dichotomy between a vicious, private 'court' and virtuous, public 'country'.⁶¹² Catholics, like their Protestant contemporaries, engaged in the enlarged political sphere that recent scholarship has delineated.⁶¹³ We need to take seriously for this period Lake and Questier's observation on the pre-war period that 'the Catholic victims of state power were also agents, the initiating subjects of a struggle for the control of some of the central ideological, rhetorical and material weapons mobilized...against them'.⁶¹⁴ Given the periodic purging of the openly Catholic from the various institutions of state, the public sphere (or whatever term is preferred) became a critical venue in this conflict over identity-politics and the politics of identification. In this instance the critical issues were the proper interpretation of post-Reformation history, the nature of Catholic identity and the appropriate shape of the Restoration political nation.

Next, through *The Apology* Castlemaine was attempting to construct an identity that was at once Catholic, loyal and English: an identity that was as much personal as communal. Clearly this identity went against the grain of critical political discourses and established historical narratives, and as such was publicly contested. Paradoxically then, the categories of activist-'Court' Catholic and passive-'Country' Catholic, for all their descriptive inadequacy, remain

⁶¹⁰ P. Collinson, "Ben Jonson's Bartholomew Fair", pp.157-8; see L. Althusser, *On Ideology* (London, 2008), pp.44-51.

⁶¹¹ See T. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago, 1962).

⁶¹² For survey see Shagan, *Catholics*.

⁶¹³ For a recent contribution to this argument, see W. Bulman, "Publicity and Popery on the Restoration Stage: Elkanah Settle's *The Empress of Morocco* in Context", *Journal of British Studies*, 51:2 (April, 2012), pp. 308-339.

⁶¹⁴ Lake & Questier, "Agency, Appropriation and Rhetoric", pp.65-6.

essential historical representations.⁶¹⁵ Anti-popery was not just a solipsistic vehicle for Protestant identity-formation, as historians have sometimes implied. Instead, as Lloyd's actions demonstrate, it provided an active means - a set of political practices, not just disembodied languages - for constructing and excluding Catholics as a category from an imagined but not imaginary Protestant political public. Castlemaine's actions, in turn, provide an example of resistance to this dominant and dominating discourse; a micro-history of the politics of identity in Restoration England.⁶¹⁶

This episode supplements existing accounts of publicity written in tropes of inclusion, expansion and anonymity. Lloyd's and Castlemaine's actions undoubtedly provide prima facie evidence of polemical engagement in a public medium, and the subsequent active and critical engagement of readers: that is, of a political public. But this narrative emphasizes that what, for want of a better term, we might call the Restoration public sphere was also a dramaturgical space; a site for expressive self-fashioning – and not simply a repository for pre-determined identities.⁶¹⁷ Whilst self-fashioning is normally understood at the individual level, the public sphere was also a space where 'the public' was constructed; a disciplinary sphere in which a unitary public – a mass subject – defined and then excluded its 'other'.⁶¹⁸ This unitary 'public' was never a given, but the contingent outcome of a socially-grounded conflict for symbolic power and political legitimacy.⁶¹⁹ This conflict determined which identities at any particular time were valorised, and which were prescribed and excluded. Members of subaltern groups - women, the poor, Catholics - might enter the public arena, whether in the coffeehouse or via the medium of print, but only at the price of denying or obscuring those very qualities.⁶²⁰ Castlemaine was attempting, through writing and other types of performance to be a public Catholic subject rather than simply a Catholic subject in public; a discursive subject rather than the subject of discourse. Lloyd was doing the opposite.

⁶¹⁵ They are inadequate not incorrect. The point is that by restricting Catholics to these categories – *and these categories alone* – we are committing an act of prescription.

⁶¹⁶ Bulman, "Publicity and Popery".

⁶¹⁷ In Habermas, identity is established anterior to the public sphere. Habermas in a moment of unusual theoretical density refers to this tendency as 'part of a social psychological approach to some sort of analysis of an expressivist, somehow aesthetic, need for self-representation in public space', Calhoun (ed.), *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, p.466. See also M. Warner, "The Mass Public and the Mass Subject" in Calhoun (ed.), *Habermas*. For a historical treatment of this process see Lake w/ Questier, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat*.

⁶¹⁸ H. Mah, "Phantasies of the Public Sphere: Rethinking the Habermas of Historians", *The Journal of Modern History*. 72:1 (2000), pp.153-182; Warner, "The Mass Subject".

⁶¹⁹ P. Bourdieu, *Language & Symbolic Power* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991).

⁶²⁰ Warner, "The Mass Subject".

Pepys' diary provides a rich context for interpreting this critical early modern phenomenon and attempting to make sense of his apparently contradictory reading of two pamphlets during a period of heightened anxiety over 'popery'. On the one hand his diary reveals an encounter with Catholicism at multiple but quotidian levels; as practices, institutions, practitioners and narratives. Here this religious category might be constructed in various ways; some neutral, some even positive. In other instances, alternative aspects of identity were more important, pushing Catholicism into the background. In these instances the boundaries between 'Catholic' and 'Protestant' might become unclear, even inoperative. These encounters took place in a variety of settings but were, nonetheless, more clearly articulated as Catholic in relation to the institutions of the Court, and with foreigners. Alongside these representations of Catholicism and Catholic identity, Pepys intermittently records the recognizable discourse and practices of anti-popery. Within this discourse, or frame of experience, 'Catholicism', now coded as 'popery', was more clearly defined and normative borders re-established; in terms of historical narratives, essential identities and political programmes. Pepys' response to this discourse is predictable and similar in 'direction' to his contemporaries if not perhaps in magnitude; a generalized sense of unease and uncertainty. If these contexts cannot 'produce', in any simple sense, Pepys' reading of these two pamphlets, they at least suggest an interpretative field of possible readings.

Finally, in addition to the interpretative difficulties, it is perhaps less important why Pepys thought this, but instead that it was possible for him to do so at such a politically-charged juncture. If Pepys was positioned within the Protestant mainstream, as I have suggested, the fact that he could read Castlemaine's account of English Catholic identity and not dismiss it out of hand is significant. There remains the possibility, as mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, that here Pepys was acting as 'literary critic' – making an aesthetic judgement – rather than as a 'political analyst' (allowing for the anachronistic terminology in each case). But even this ability to suspend a more normative or perhaps better still, prescriptive assessment would say something about the conjunction of religion and politics in the diary period; and the possibilities of the Restoration political imagination if not of its public discourse. To adopt Anthony Milton's term, it shows how contemporaries were perfectly capable of thinking outside of the ideological 'straightjacket' that anti-popery, and its polemicists, like Lloyd, attempted to impose on their audience.⁶²¹ Indeed we might take Pepys' account of his engagement with Catholicism in a wider sense as much as this single, and somewhat singular, piece of reading, as evidence of a much larger and potentially receptive audience for Catholic

⁶²¹ Milton, "A qualified intolerance", p.85.

polemic; an 'interpretative community', to adopt the language of book historians.⁶²² This would seem to be indicated by Williamson's correspondent's comment that the Catholic pamphlets then in circulation were 'much applauded' (Pepys' own 'cried up' is more ambivalent).⁶²³ This then might correspond to the distinction that historians of the period have recently drawn between a relatively small body of active non-conformists and those sympathetic to nonconformity (groups whose borders might be porous rather than impermeable), the latter much larger though less visible. It seems plausible that a similar body existed, or was believed/hoped/feared to exist, in relation to Catholicism. Contemporaries certainly thought so, and termed them 'popishly-affected'. Indeed, as Milton (again) notes, 'If most of English society truly upheld the "papophobic" version of anti-Catholic discourse which scholars have identified, then there would have been little reason for political conflict'.⁶²⁴ Anti-popery then becomes a sign of anxiety, an attempt by certain individuals and groups with Restoration society at particular moments to transform a messy social reality into a clear-cut normative ideal; the familiar transformation of 'is' to 'ought'. If this is correct perhaps Pepys' position may have been closer to the mainstream than might be expected, although not one, as he was to discover, that it was wise to publicize.

⁶²² For a discussion of this point see K. Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (New Haven, 2000), Ch. 1; for 'interpretative communities' see, pp.59-61.

⁶²³ 5th Dec., 1666, Falmouth, Thos. Holden to James Hicckes, *CSPD* 1666-7, p.321.

⁶²⁴ Milton, "A qualified intolerance", p.110.

Chapter IV – Pepys and Popularity

Across the spring and summer of 1667, Pepys made a series of entries in his journal recording the political activities, apparent and alleged, of the Duke of Buckingham. In early March, when warrants for Buckingham's arrest had been issued, Pepys learned from his friend, the courtier, Sir Hugh Cholmley, that Buckingham stood accused of 'endeavouring to become popular...and therefore, most likely, will die'.⁶²⁵ Towards the end of June, when Buckingham, still very much alive, had resurfaced in the altered political landscape after the Dutch raid on the Medway, Pepys was informed by his friend, the apothecary, John Pelling that the duke, 'is at this day a very popular man'.⁶²⁶ A fortnight later, Pepys learned from his colleague (and *alter ego*), John Creed that, 'when he was charged [before the Privy Council] with making himself popular — as indeed he is...he should answer, that whoever was committed to prison by my Lord Chancellor or my Lord Arlington, could not want being popular'.⁶²⁷ Pepys' repeated invocation of the various cognates and different senses of the word 'popular' points towards a vibrant body of early modern scholarship conducted under the rubric of 'the politics of popularity'.⁶²⁸ Unlike most of these studies however, this chapter does not focus on the main protagonist, Buckingham, but on the audience for his actions, and especially on one member of that audience, Samuel Pepys.⁶²⁹ My main aim then is simply to recover not only a particular reading but an individual experience of this much-discussed early modern phenomenon. In addition, I want to insert this Pepysian perspective alongside existing accounts of the political crisis that Buckingham's actions contributed to: a crisis that its principal historian deemed to have halted Restoration attempts at 'the reconstruction of the old regime'.⁶³⁰ Finally, I want to position this micro-history of 'the politics of popularity' as a contribution, and I hope a critical one, to the larger corpus of research on this theme.⁶³¹

'The Politics of Popularity'

⁶²⁵ 3rd Mar., 1667, Pepys, viii, pp.93-4.

⁶²⁶ 28th Jun., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.302.

⁶²⁷ 17th Jul., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.342.

⁶²⁸ For specific references see historiographical discussion below.

⁶²⁹ Although primarily concerned with gender, I have found Ann Hughes discussion of the 'public man' and 'privacy' particularly helpful, A. Hughes, "Men, the 'public' and the 'private' in the English Revolution", in Lake & Pincus, *PPS*.

⁶³⁰ Seaward, *Cavalier Parliament*; for a taxonomy of Restoration 'crises' see R. Greaves, "Great Scott! The Restoration in Turmoil, or, Restoration Crises and the Emergence of Party", *Albion*, 25:4 (Winter, 1994), pp.605-18.

⁶³¹ See Lake & Pincus, "Rethinking" and the various essays in Lake & Pincus, *PPS*.

The emergence of ‘popularity’ as a central *historiographical* concept can be located in the late-1980s.⁶³² ‘Popularity’ has subsequently become a key heuristic in the historiography of early modern politics; even (somewhat ironically) forming one element of the title of a *festschrift* for Conrad Russell.⁶³³ It has been deployed as a key explanatory factor in studies of individuals (taken chronologically) such as Protector Somerset, the 2nd Earl of Essex, the 1st Duke of Buckingham, and King Charles I; lesser figures like Joseph Hall, Sir Thomas Aston and Sir Edward Dering; and that constructed identity, ‘the public man’.⁶³⁴ Thus by 2004, Joad Raymond was noting that ‘popularity’ was a term ‘with a revealing and complex history that can tell us much about early modern politics’.⁶³⁵ This briefest of literature reviews may be concluded with three observations. Firstly, ‘popularity’ has been a key element of the critique of revisionism that has come to be known as post-revisionism.⁶³⁶ Next, as the inclusion of essays on this topic by Paul Hammer, Richard Cust and Ann Hughes in a recent collection of essays suggests, ‘popularity’ has been closely linked with the ‘emergence’ (or perhaps manifestation) of a public sphere in early modern England.⁶³⁷ Finally, the explicit deployment of ‘popularity’, whilst reaching back as far as Edward VI’s reign, has proven incapable of crossing the historiographical chasm that separates the early and late Stuart periods.⁶³⁸

In this literature, ‘popularity’ has three senses. Alongside the sole surviving 21st century sense, ‘The fact or condition of being liked, admired, or supported by many people or by a particular group of people; general acceptance’, the *OED* has three additional entries: ‘Popular or democratic government’; ‘The principle of popular or democratic government; democracy’; and ‘The action or practice of seeking the admiration or support of others’, all originating at the end of the 16th century, and all now deemed ‘obscure’.⁶³⁹ The first meaning of ‘popularity’ in recent historiography then refers to an increasingly common term in political *discourse* at

⁶³² See Cust & Hughes, *Conflict*, pp.14, 18, 21 & 24.

⁶³³ Cogswell *et al.*

⁶³⁴ E. Shagan, “Protector Somerset and the 1549 Rebellions: New Sources and New Perspectives”, *The English Historical Review*, 114:455 (Feb., 1999), pp.34-63, P. Hammer “The Smiling Crocodile: the earl of Essex and late Elizabethan ‘popularity’” in Lake & Pincus, *PPS*, T. Cogswell “The people’s love: the Duke of Buckingham and popularity” in Cogswell *et al.*, R. Cust “Charles I and popularity” in Cogswell *et al.*, Fincham & Lake “Popularity, Prelacy and Puritanism in the 1630s: Joseph Hall explains himself”, *English Historical Review*, 111 (1996), Lake, “Puritans, Popularity and petitions: local politics in national context, Cheshire, 1641”, J. Peacey, “Sir Edward Dering, Popularity, and the Public, 1640–1644”, *The Historical Journal*, 54:4 (2011), pp.955-983, and R. Cust, “The ‘public man’ in late Tudor and early Stuart England”, and A. Hughes, “Men, the ‘public’ and the ‘private’ in the English Revolution”, in Lake & Pincus, *PPS*.

⁶³⁵ J. Raymond, “Describing Popularity in Early Modern England”, *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, (Mar., 2004), 67:1, p.128.

⁶³⁶ See the editors comments in their “Introduction”, Cogswell *et al.*

⁶³⁷ Lake & Pincus, “Rethinking”.

⁶³⁸ Shagan, “Protector Somerset”.

⁶³⁹ “Popularity”, *OED*, [http://0-](http://0-www.oed.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/view/Entry/147912?redirectedFrom=popularity#eid)

[www.oed.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/view/Entry/147912?redirectedFrom=popularity#eid](http://0-www.oed.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/view/Entry/147912?redirectedFrom=popularity#eid); accessed 15th Jan., 2013.

the close of the Tudor era used to designate (and denigrate) an appeal beyond the 'appropriate' political audience; and particularly to those outside some notion of 'the political nation'. The studies cited above concur with the *OED*, dating this usage to the latter part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, a period when more 'absolutist' notions of monarchical and episcopal power were gaining currency as an antidote to various resistance theories then in circulation.⁶⁴⁰ Thereafter the term 'popularity' increasingly acted as shorthand for the allegation that, by appealing outside the appropriate political arena, one's opponents either deliberately sought to undermine the existing order, to introduce 'democracie', or, by their actions, unwittingly risked such an outcome. Embedded in this term were notions regarding the hierarchical nature of government, a dismissive assessment of the rationality of non-elites, but also widespread elite fears of non-elites' agency. These assumptions and anxieties came together to form a narrative that could order history – classical and biblical as much as contemporary – as well as provide an interpretative key to current events. Fear of 'popularity' might, as in the case of Charles I, come to almost entirely dominate an individual's worldview – and inform their political practice.⁶⁴¹

Next, 'popularity' refers to a mode of early modern political *practice*: that is the use of the available media to make information available – to publicize politics – to a wider audience in order to mobilize political support. Given the risks that attended such tactics, identified above, the practice of popularity was typically the preserve of groups that were either out of favour or lacking access to power; a step to be taken after more conventional measures had failed. The historical exemplar for such practices, and an object of subsequent fascination, was the 2nd Earl of Essex.⁶⁴² Whilst print publication has been identified as a critical element of these practices, historians of popularity have pointed to the other modes of publicity that were available, such as oral or manuscript circulation, and to the various stages for these public performances, including Parliament, the tiltyard and the playhouse. In practice these different strategies were often adopted in series or in parallel: an early modern multi-media political campaign. Since these practices were posited upon the existence of an interested (or at least potentially interested) audience, studies of 'popularity' have also been studies of the extent and status of a (if not *the*) public sphere – or less contentiously, a political public, or simply an

⁶⁴⁰ See also J. Guy, "Introduction", in J. Guy (ed.), *The reign of Elizabeth I : court and culture in the last decade* (Cambridge, 1995).

⁶⁴¹ R. Cust., "Charles I and popularity", esp. p.236.

⁶⁴² Hammer, "Crocodile".

audience interested in politics - in early modern England.⁶⁴³ It was against such activities - real, imagined or deliberately fabricated - that the discourse of 'popularity' was directed.

Finally, 'popularity' captures an important if dangerous (even volatile) *attribute* or *asset* in politics: the ability to fashion an appeal to, and establish a relationship with, what we would now term 'public opinion'; to be popular, that is, as we understand it in the 21st century. Here the 2nd Earl of Essex and the 1st Duke of Buckingham might seem to offer polar opposites but for the violent deaths they both met: the first popular and solicitous of 'popularity'; the second frequently as unpopular as he was averse to 'popularity'.⁶⁴⁴ Yet as Tom Cogswell and Peter Lake have shown, even Buckingham was not averse to engaging in these practices, although with only limited effect after 1625.⁶⁴⁵ Conversely, certain figures were clearly unpopular: Henrietta-Maria being an obvious example in the Restoration (see previous chapter). Taken together then, these various meanings of 'popularity' identify an anxiety about the extent of the political arena publicly expressed in terms of a hostile discourse, a habitual disposition towards publication or publicity by certain participants within that field, and a valuable if volatile form of political capital more available to some actors than others. This nexus of discourse, practice and capital gained its historical force and political efficacy (and historiographical interest) from the apparently (but only apparently) paradoxical nature of early modern governance, which was at once committed to the principle of hierarchy yet at the same time dependent upon the practice of active participation.⁶⁴⁶ Examining Pepys' experience of this instance of politics of popularity serves as both a contribution to an existing field, an inversion of the normal perspective, and an explicit extension of the concept into a new historical period.

This historiographical absence should not, however, be exaggerated. Whilst not explicitly adopting this language from early Stuart historiography, the same set of concerns is central to two of the most influential studies of Restoration politics; Tim Harris's *London Crowds* and

⁶⁴³ The best articulation of this, and a summary of existing literature, is P. Lake and S. Pincus, "Rethinking".

⁶⁴⁴ For a contemporary reflection on these apparently 'disparate' but 'parallel' figures see Sir H. Wotton, *Reliquiae Wottonianae*, (London, 1650), pp.1-70; for recent research see Hammer, "Crocodile" and Cogswell, "Buckingham", for Buckingham's brief popularity, pp.217-9.

⁶⁴⁵ Cogswell, "The People's Love"; T. Cogswell and P. Lake, "Buckingham Does the Globe: *Henry VIII* and the Politics of Popularity in the 1620s", *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 60:3 (2009), pp.253-278.

⁶⁴⁶ On participation see P. Collinson, "De Republica Anglorum: Or, History with the Politics Put Back" in P. Collinson, *Elizabethan Essays* (London, 1994); and M. Goldie "The Unacknowledged Republic" in T. Harris (ed.), *The politics of the excluded, c. 1500-1850* (Basingstoke, 2001).

Mark Knights' *Politics and Opinion in Crisis*.⁶⁴⁷ Similarly, whilst they predate the recent vogue for all things 'popular', notions of 'popularity' are certainly in play in the two most important accounts of the events discussed here: Paul Seaward's study of the 'Cavalier Parliament' and Steve Pincus's *Protestantism and Patriotism*.⁶⁴⁸ The differences in their positions can be teased out by their treatment of this theme. Although both authors – like previous commentators – consider the ejection of Clarendon from office in 1667 as a significant moment in Restoration politics, they differ over the nature, dimensions and consequences of the attack upon him.⁶⁴⁹ For Seaward, Clarendon was the victim of court rivalries spilling over into Parliament, and the deterioration in his relationship with Charles II. The issues which animated the loosely-constructed public opposition to the Chancellor were typical 'country' concerns. Prominent amongst these were anger at all-too-evident mismanagement and corruption and more corrosive fears of 'popish' conspiracy and arbitrary government. Seaward's analysis, at least implicitly, looks back to the anxieties of the early Stuart and Civil War periods, as much as it anticipates the troubled politics of the 1670s.⁶⁵⁰ By contrast, Pincus has argued that Clarendon's political destruction was an indirect result of the discrediting of a persecutory Anglican-Royalist agenda in favour of an alternative policy of religious toleration.⁶⁵¹ This ideological conflict was fought out in a wider discursive field exemplified by that novel institution, the coffeehouse.⁶⁵² Here, Pincus, anticipates his later interest in the incipient modernity (or 'modernity') of the Restoration period: its rupture with an early Stuart, and early modern past, and connection with an until-recent present.⁶⁵³ Concentrating on Pepys' reading and experience of 'popularity' provides an alternative, supplementary viewpoint from which to judge these events.

Finally, the focus on Pepys is particularly appropriate in this case. First, Pepys' day-by-day narrative is the most detailed single account of these events. Next, its unusual nature offers a

⁶⁴⁷ Harris, *London Crowd*; Knights, *Politics & Opinion*.

⁶⁴⁸ Seaward, *Cavalier Parliament*; Pincus, *P&P*, see also, Pincus, *FMR*.

⁶⁴⁹ For Clarendon as a scapegoat, see Pincus, *P&P*, p.426; Seaward, *Cavalier Parliament*, Chapters 11 & 12.

⁶⁵⁰ Seaward, *Cavalier Parliament*, Chapters 10 – 12.

⁶⁵¹ The desired toleration was for non-conforming Protestants not English Catholics. Pincus, *P&P*, Chapters 1, 16, 22-3 & *passim*; c.f. S. Pincus, "From butterboxes to wooden shoes: the shift in English popular sentiment from anti-Dutch to anti-French in the 1670s", *The Historical Journal*, 38:2 (1995), pp.333 – 61.

⁶⁵² The impact of 'public opinion' on conduct of the war is addressed in earlier studies; c.f. Hutton, *Restoration*, 1985, p.223; on public opinion more generally, Hutton, *Restoration*, Part Two, Chapters 4 & 5, Part Four, Chapters 3 & 4; Seaward, *Cavalier Parliament*, p.13; J. Miller, "Public Opinion in Charles II's England", *History*, 80 (1995), pp.359-381.

⁶⁵³ See, *inter alia*, Pincus, "Coffee", *FMR*, and A. Houston & S. Pincus (ed.), *A nation transformed: England after the Restoration* (Cambridge, 2001).

rare opportunity to examine the reception of ‘the politics of popularity’ rather than, as is more often the case, its production; or at least to do so in remarkably rich detail. Finally, Pepys’ occupies an ambiguous, often ambivalent and frequently uncomfortable position in this episode. Certainly, ‘the public’, as elsewhere in his journal, is one object of Pepys’ unrelenting gaze during this period. His account places him within that public, as a member of the audience for the practices, and later the discourse, of popularity.⁶⁵⁴ At the same time, Pepys was also a member of the government; that is of public authority. As a member of the Navy Board he was at the centre of the political storm that seemed, to many, about to upturn a government bereft of political capital. If Pepys was examining the public, his own actions, and those of his colleagues, were coming under discomfiting public scrutiny, and his person the object of public violence. Indeed, I intend to argue that *the* public in the strong sense - as a collective yet unitary, albeit unstable, political subject - was coalescing at least in part as a result of the practices of popularity that Pepys describes. This politicized public increasingly defined itself in opposition to a set of hostile figures - ‘courtiers’ and administrators, ‘strangers’ and ‘papists’ – an uncomfortable list for Pepys. Indeed his anxiety at this time is reflected in his vocabulary: ‘fear’ and ‘afeared’ are significantly more prevalent in 1666 and 1667 than at any other point in the period Pepys kept his journal (see Figure 14).⁶⁵⁵ It is this increasingly bifurcated position that gives the diary for this period its peculiar intensity; and is reflected in its centrality to Pepys’ ‘personal’ narrative (see Figure 15). This chapter examines Pepys’ attempts to manage his ambivalent position: both within and outside the public, that is, as both an addressee of the practices of popularity and as the object its discourse. These two apparently incompatible positions are traced through Pepys’ social and spatial interactions and his textual self-representation within his journal.

⁶⁵⁴ Pepys does not record a single visit to coffeehouses in the period examined here c. autumn 1666 to autumn 1667.

⁶⁵⁵ This is not to suggest that all these instances are examples of Pepys’ fears about public ‘matters of state’ but the incidence in aggregate is nonetheless instructive.

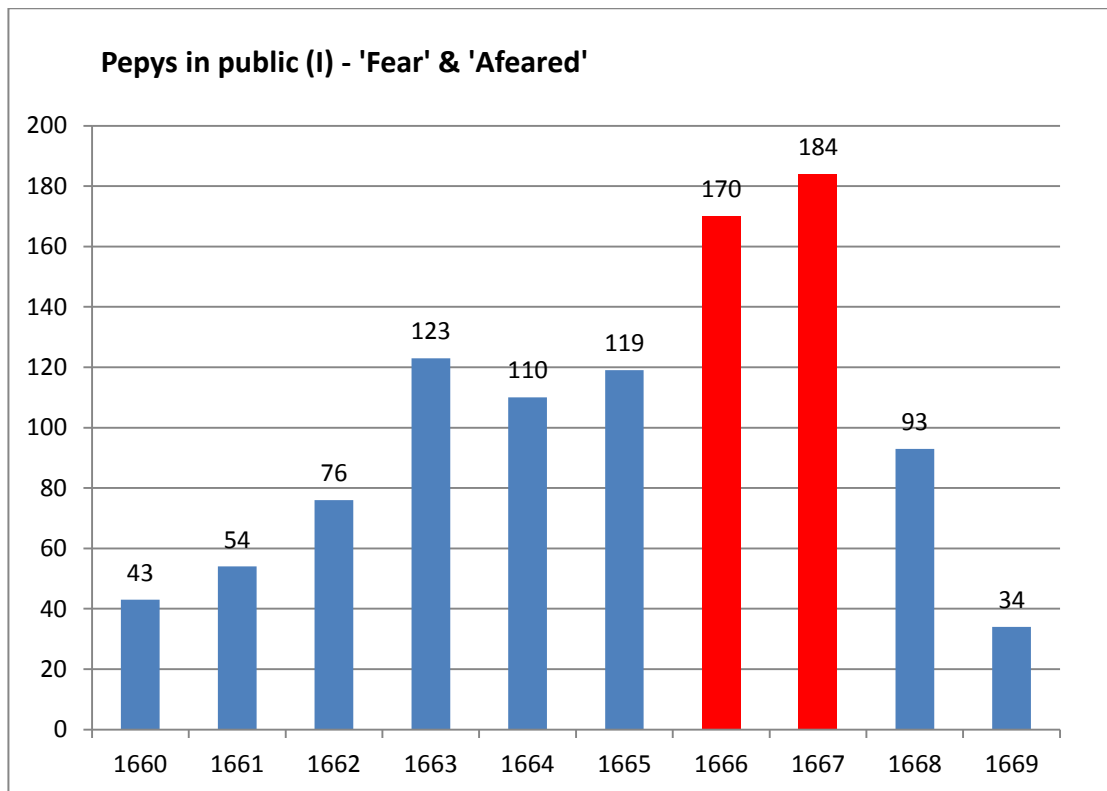


Figure 14 – Pepys in public (I): 'fear' & 'afeared'

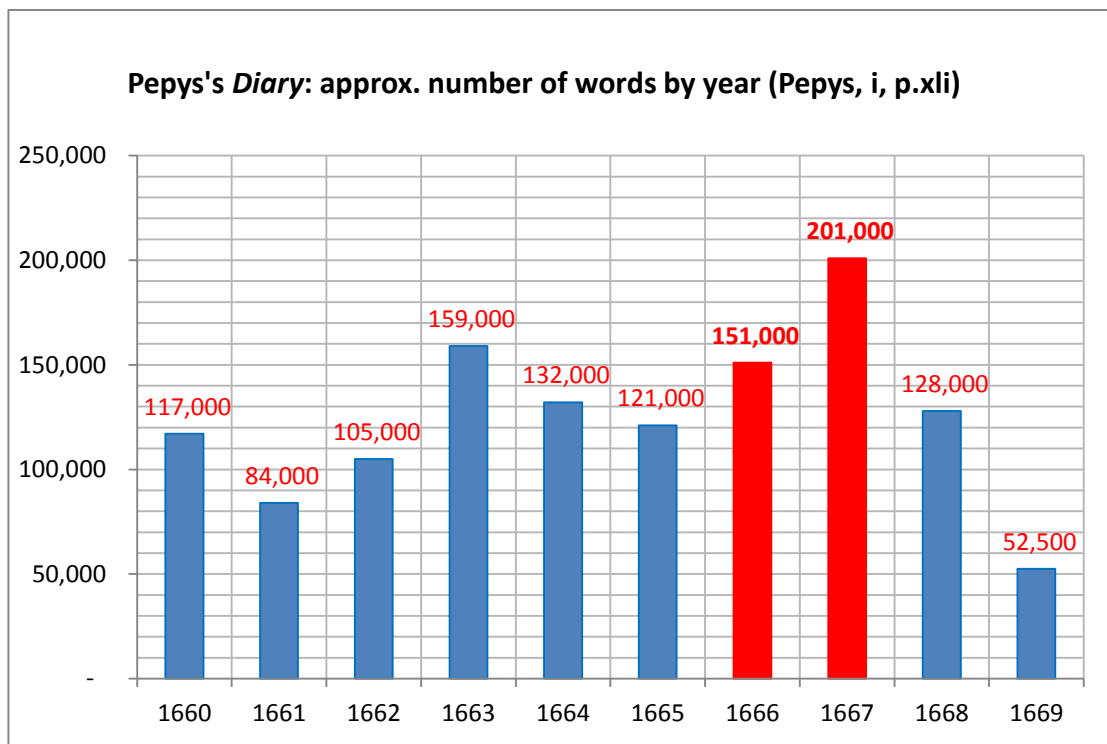


Figure 15 – Pepys' Dairy: 1666 & 1667

In the mid-1630s the young Buckingham was approached by a man who claimed to have communed with the spirit of his dead father. The duke's spirit, through this earthly medium, 'told him then many particulars, how he should carry himself to regayne the people's love, and wyne the parliamt, and if he should follow these particulars, he should <live> long and prosper'. Not surprisingly, the young duke, 'at the discovery of those secrets was extremely startled'.⁶⁵⁶ Notwithstanding this super-(natural) advice, prior to the autumn of 1666, Buckingham had seen his political ambitions during the Restoration consistently thwarted.⁶⁵⁷ His attempts to join the militia raised by his father-in-law, Sir Thomas Fairfax, on the eve of the Restoration had been frustrated by the unwillingness of many of those present to serve with so notorious a Royalist. Despite this estimation, Buckingham was not trusted by the returning royalists either. His breach with the Clarendon-Nicholas-Ormond axis was a matter of personality (and perhaps even of generation) as well as policy. Nicholas, a former client of Buckingham's father, had noted as far back as 1652, 'Some of those about his grace make him believe his is already wiser than his father. I wish he may be half so wise when he doubles his age', adding, in what would become a familiar criticism, 'indeed he hath wit enough, but I doubt he wants ballast'.⁶⁵⁸ Buckingham's route through the politics of the 1640s and 1650s – taking in a Presbyterian alliance, with the Scots, associations with the radical political underground, and another Presbyterian alliance, this time with Lord Fairfax's daughter – added a policy dimension to these personal differences. Thus on Charles's return he was the only surviving privy councillor not to be sworn back on to the new council (he would have to wait until 1662 to receive this mark of favour).⁶⁵⁹ In June 1660, Giavarina reported that, 'The duke of Buckingham, although received back into favour, is so far excluded with no indication that he will ever be admitted owing to the unfavourable opinion that the king has of him'.⁶⁶⁰ Buckingham it seems was both too Royalist and not Royalist enough for the Restoration.

Buckingham's exclusion from national office seems to have diverted his energies to other arenas. His subsequent attempts to revive the Council of the North as a regional powerbase were, however, similarly rebuffed, probably at Clarendon's instigation.⁶⁶¹ This does, however,

⁶⁵⁶ '1634', 'The Duke of Buckingham', with subtitle 'I have heard this from a knowing man', BL Harley MS 7056, ff.34-v; 'discovery' may in fact be 'discourse'.

⁶⁵⁷ The biographical details, where not otherwise cited, are drawn from B. Yardley, "Villiers, George, second duke of Buckingham (1628 – 1687)", *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004) vol. 56, pp.500-7.

⁶⁵⁸ 7th Mar., 1652 n.s., E. Nicholas to Henry Seymour, *Nicholas Papers*, i, p.287.

⁶⁵⁹ The concerns amongst the Clarendon faction regarding Buckingham can be traced through Nicholas's correspondence, *The Nicholas Papers*, i, pp.173, 254, 289 & 30; ii, pp.219, 226, 253 & 296.

⁶⁶⁰ 18th June 1660, Francesco Giavarina, Venetian Resident in England, to Doge and Senate, *CSPV*, 1659-61, p.159.

⁶⁶¹ For the allegation of Clarendon's involvement see BL Harley MS 6862, f.20; Seaward, *Cavalier Parliament*, p.137.

indicate one of Buckingham's more successful fields of activity at this time: county politics. Buckingham's servant and eulogizer, Brian Fairfax, later noted that, 'His Lord Lieutenancy...cost him more than any thing could have recompensed but the universal Love and esteem of the Country which he got by his Courteous and generous behaviour among them'.⁶⁶² In this sphere he also used his influence in local elections: his recommendation helping Sir Thomas Osborne to win a seat for York against a court-sponsored candidate. In 1663, when rumours began to circulate of a new plot based in the area of Buckingham's local authority, he was quick to act, and quicker to publicize his actions.⁶⁶³ Whilst this particular event did not lead to national office, Buckingham's actions in this locality did help him build a cadre of Yorkshire-based supporters in the Commons, amongst them those future 'luminaries', Sir George Savile and Osbourne. These supporters added to his existing connections with Presbyterians made through his father-in-law, Lord Fairfax.⁶⁶⁴

On the national stage Buckingham's field of political action was limited to the Court. Throughout this period he was associated with Clarendon's political enemies and was implicated in a number of futile Court putsches. In 1663, for instance, he was identified as one of 'the present favourites' at court', intriguing against Clarendon; but when Bristol publicly challenged the Chancellor that same year, in a precursor of the events of three years later, Buckingham was studiously neutral.⁶⁶⁵ His attempts to parlay his privileged position at court, as a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, into power appeared, at least at first, little more successful; though his imitations clearly amused the King and irritated Clarendon in equal measure.⁶⁶⁶ Indeed James II later commented that, 'Being thus advanced, he [i.e. Buckingham] quickly joyn'd with those other persons who designed the Chancellor's ruine, and by his railleries, did by degrees use his Majesty to hear the Chancellor spoken against'; an indication of the efficacy of what Martin Dzelzainis has termed 'the politics of ridicule'.⁶⁶⁷ When in the summer of 1665 he joined the flood of 'gentleman-of-quality' attempting to volunteer for action against the Dutch, he again found his ambitions blocked in humiliating fashion; this time by the Duke of York, Clarendon's son-in-law, and the Earl of Sandwich, the Chancellor's client. This series of

⁶⁶² BL Harley MS 6862, f.19.v; *Memoirs of Sir John Reresby*, A. Browning (ed.), (London, 1991; 1st edition 1936), pp.58-9; Hutton, *Restoration*, p.252; Seaward, *Cavalier Parliament*, pp.247 & 300.

⁶⁶³ For a discussion of this plot see Marshall, *Intelligence and Espionage*, pp.109-12 & 156-9, and, from a different perspective, Pincus, *P&P*, Ch.14.

⁶⁶⁴ Osbourne was the 'luminary', being known to contemporaries, due to his complexion, as the 'White Marquis'; Savile, by contrast, although on the same basis, was known as the 'Black Marquis'.

⁶⁶⁵ Quote from *Pepys*, iv, p.137.

⁶⁶⁶ Hyde, *The Life*, iii, p.65.

⁶⁶⁷ J. Clarke, *The Life of James the Second of England, &c.*, (London, 1816), i, p.398; see also, Hyde, *The Life*, iii, p.65. I have not been able to discover the title of the paper this term came from despite having contacted Professor Dzelzainis.

rebuffs and reversals appears to have dispirited Buckingham, for he subsequently wrote to the Duke of Ormonde complaining that, 'I have soe long accustomed to bee ill used, that I may very well begin to thinke that I deserve noe better, and that it is high time for me to leave off the persuing of those things that I have had soe little success in'.⁶⁶⁸ He subsequently failed to attend a single sitting of the Oxford parliamentary session held later that year.⁶⁶⁹ Buckingham's political career appeared to be fizzling out like a damp squib: a poor comparison to his father's meteoric ascent.

Prior to his appearance in the parliamentary session of 1666-7, Buckingham is barely present in the early years of the diary, and where present almost entirely confined to the court. In fact, in a reflection of his continued fame, Buckingham's deceased father, the first duke, is almost as often referred to in this period as his living son. These entries include a macabre visit by Pepys and his Navy Board colleagues to the room in Portsmouth where the Duke was assassinated, and two separate readings of Rushworth's account of the charges made against him in Parliament. On a trip to York House, his former residence, Pepys noted, 'that that pleased me best, was the remains of the noble soul of the late Duke of Buckingham appearing in his house, in every place' - 'noble soul' striking a particularly jarring note in relation to Buckingham's current historiographical standing.⁶⁷⁰ By contrast, when searching for a figure from recent history as a paradigm of public engagement and its perils in their pamphlet exchange on the merits of engagement and withdrawal (the standard renaissance tropes of *otium* and *negotium*), it was to the second Duke's father that George McKenzie and, in his response, John Evelyn turned.⁶⁷¹ Pepys also retained a copy of Sir Henry Wotton's *Reliquiae Wottonianae*, with its 'compare and contrast' accounts of the second earl of Essex and the first duke of Buckingham.⁶⁷² In fact, the Restoration duke is not noticed at all until an abortive duel with Pepys's patron, Sandwich, at Le Havre in February 1661: an explanation, amongst others, for Buckingham's later hostility towards Sandwich, and of Pepys for Buckingham. Interestingly, Pepys, admittedly a partial witness, claimed that 'the difference was made up, to my Lord's honour; who hath got great reputation thereby', indicating some sort of discursive community

⁶⁶⁸ 26th Apr., 1665, Buckingham to Ormonde, Bodl MS Carte vol. 34, fols.160-61.

⁶⁶⁹ *Lords Journal*, II, pp.683-701.

⁶⁷⁰ References to the 1st Duke; receiving the Garter, 27th May 1660, Pepys, i, p.161; death, 2nd May 1661, ii, p.93; York House, 6th Jun., 1663, iv, p.175; Rushworth, 12th Dec., 1663, iv, p.417 and 15th Jan., 1665, vi, p.10.

⁶⁷¹ G. McKenzie, *A Moral Essay* (Edinburgh, 1665) p.28; J. Evelyn, *Publick Employment and an active life...*, (London, 1667), p.51.

⁶⁷² PL915, Latham, *Catalogue*, p.193; Pepys has a 1672 edition, dating his acquisition to the post-Diary period, H. Wotton, *Reliquiae Wottonianae* (London, 1672).

in which this matter had circulated, and the impact of such forms of public display on social credit.⁶⁷³

Thereafter, Buckingham is identified as a court figure; either as participant in semi-public spectacle or court intrigue. Some five months later, in a discussion that took place in 'the lobby of Parliament', George Montagu [5th son of Earl of Manchester; M.P.; Gentleman of the Privy Chamber; Sandwich's cousin] identified Buckingham along with Bristol as amongst those 'many great men' hostile to Clarendon.⁶⁷⁴ In May 1663, in one of the extended private discussions of public affairs that punctuate the journal, Sir Thomas Crew [M.P.; later second Baron; 'a strict Puritan'; Sandwich's brother-in-law], after a diatribe against the 'counsellors of pleasure', told Pepys that 'the present favourites now are my Lord Bristol, Duke of Buckingham, Sir H. Bennet, my Lord Ashley, and Sir Charles Barkeley; who, among them, have cast my Lord Chancellor upon his back, past ever getting up again' - a judgement on Clarendon's political demise that if prescient was also premature.⁶⁷⁵ In early 1664, in a conversation at home with the King's brewer, 'Mr Alsop', Pepys learned that, 'the King [is] led away by half-a-dozen men', including Buckingham, Bennet and Lauderdale, and 'that none of his serious servants and friends can come at him'. In an interesting insight on the importance of publicity to monarchy, Pepys added, 'the crew that are about him will not have him come to common view again, but keep him obscurely among themselves'. Pepys concluded ruefully, 'I expect nothing but ruine can follow'.⁶⁷⁶ Elsewhere, Buckingham is identified as a participant in the rounds of entertainment that punctuated court life. Thus at the end of 1663, Pepys witnessed a ball attended by the Buckingham, 'and all the great ones' (who, appropriately enough, danced to the tune of *Cuckolds all awry*).⁶⁷⁷ Besides positioning Buckingham in Pepys' narrative these entries are also revealing about their author. In the first instance they reveal a fascination with the figures of the Court and court spectacle. Next, they demonstrate both Pepys' interest in and knowledge of the factional politics of the court, and his own position within that unstable system - as a client of Sandwich, and thus indirectly, of Clarendon. Yet they also reveal a kind of distancing within the narrative: an internalization of the moral critique of the court which is so evident in this period, and a parallel quarantining - within his narrative - of Pepys himself from the category of the 'courtier'.

⁶⁷³ 7th Feb., 1661, Pepys, ii, pp.32-3; for another report of this incident - without Pepys' editorializing - see, 7th Feb., 1661, Westminster, Andrew Marvell to Hull Corporation, *P&L*, II, p.18.

⁶⁷⁴ 27th Jul., 1661, Pepys, ii, p.142.

⁶⁷⁵ 27th Jul., 1661, Pepys, ii, p.142; 15th May 1663, Pepys, iv., p.137; see also 6th Nov., 1663, Pepys, iv, p.366.

⁶⁷⁶ 22nd Feb., 1664, Pepys, v, pp.56 & 61.

⁶⁷⁷ 31st Dec., 1662, Pepys, iii, pp.300-1; see also 22nd Jul., 1663, Pepys, iv, p.238.

These references to Buckingham are nevertheless sporadic, serving as a barometer for Buckingham's proximity to Charles but his distance from the exercise of administrative power; and therefore as evidence of his political frustrations. Indeed the last time Buckingham appears in Pepys's narrative before the parliamentary session of 1666 is over a year earlier; Pepys on this occasion reporting a rumour that Buckingham was dead, adding, 'but I know not of [it for] a certainty'.⁶⁷⁸ If the 'diary Buckingham', at least prior to 1666, is more remarkable as an absence than a presence, certain attributes, or dispositions, are nonetheless clear. First, and somewhat paradoxically, there is his public visibility and penchant for performance: as one of the 'great ones', a member of a social class, certainly, but also as an individual with a particular disposition towards public display. Next, there is his penchant for political intrigue, in this period predominantly within the Court, but also played out in the forum of Yorkshire politics.⁶⁷⁹ It is notable nonetheless that Buckingham's deliberately self-publicizing provincial actions, in relation to the Northern Rebellion of 1663, received no notice in Pepys' essentially cosmopolitan narrative. Finally, there is a hint of Buckingham's almost manic bouts of energy and application that sporadically interrupted longer spells of inactivity. Each would become clear during his intervention in national politics.

Unpopularity

In the middle of February 1666, Pepys noted in his Journal that 'certainly this year of 1666 will be a year of great action', before adding, 'but what the consequence of it will be, God knows'.⁶⁸⁰ The apprehension present in this statement is evident in Pepys's entries for the period before Parliament sat in the autumn, and would prove prophetic for both diarist and nation in a year that saw the apocalyptic combination of pestilence, war and fire. Not surprisingly, Pepys' entries are dominated by his professional duties. Within this sphere, two narratives stand out: the increasing financial constraints that Pepys and his colleagues at the Navy Board had to operate under; and the intensification and extension of the professional rivalries within the naval service. One feature of Pepys' recourse to shorthand in keeping his journal is the recycling of certain stock phrases. As a result, in this period one of his favourite terms, although that is probably an inappropriate adjective, was 'want of money'.⁶⁸¹ This lack

⁶⁷⁸ 5th Aug., 1665, Pepys, vi, p.184.

⁶⁷⁹ By referring to these as two political stages, I do not wish to resuscitate the old country studies model of a rigidly separated 'Court' and 'County community'. Like most students of the period, my view on the correct approach to county studies draws heavily on Ann Hughes' work, see A. Hughes, "Local History and the Origins of the Civil War" in Cust & Hughes, *Conflict*.

⁶⁸⁰ 19th Feb., 1666, Pepys, vii, p.47.

⁶⁸¹ Pepys, vii, pp.24, 43, 48, 77, 122, 123, & 184.

of money then contributed to an increasing professional paralysis amongst Pepys and his colleagues as the 1666 wore on.

The office politics of the Navy Board provide one of the more entertaining aspects of the diaries (at least for anyone that has worked in even a moderately large, bureaucratic organization). Bryant dated the commencement of Pepys's war of position within the Navy Board back to the spring of 1661, when its most junior member began to take his work – and its perquisites – more seriously.⁶⁸² The clashes recorded in 1666 however were of a different order to the often comical encounters between Pepys and the 'two Sir Williams' of those earlier years. Now the differences extended beyond the Navy Board's offices, including such political heavyweights as Coventry, Albemarle, Rupert and the Duke of York, as the service broke into irreconcilable factions. After, the Four Days' Battle, Pepys was privately referring to Albemarle, previously a figure of respect in the dairy, as 'the Block-headed Duke'.⁶⁸³ Nor was Pepys himself immune from this infighting. In August he, along with Coventry was singled out by Rupert and Albemarle, the fleet's commanders, 'in very plain and sharp and menacing terms', in a 'most scurvy letter' sent to the King.⁶⁸⁴ Even the successful naval actions against the Dutch - the St James' Day Fight and Holmes' Bonfire of Dutch merchant ships - did little to alter Pepys' sombre mood.⁶⁸⁵ This dangerous cocktail of administrative breakdown and vicious political infighting give the diary of this period its peculiar character; a mix in equal measures of lassitude and anxiety.

Pepys and his colleagues frequently yoked their professional concerns as administrators to wider political anxieties regarding 'matters of state'. In January the merchant Captain [George] Cocke told Pepys 'everything must break in pieces while no better counsels govern matters'; a month later, Sandwich 'feared some very great revolutions', whilst Sir Philip Warwick complained of the 'melancholy posture of affairs, where everybody is snarling at one another, and things put together look ominously', and Carteret, not to be outdone 'seems most afeared of a general catastrophe to the whole kingdom'.⁶⁸⁶ Pepys and his colleagues at the Navy Board, and the government more generally, in turn came in for mounting public criticism; criticisms which Pepys often shared. Towards the end of June, for instance, Sir William Coventry complained to Pepys that 'he was under the lash of people's discourse' following the failure of intelligence to reach Rupert ahead of the Four Days' Battle. Whilst regarded as a defender of

⁶⁸² Bryant, *Pepys*, p.111.

⁶⁸³ 12th Jul., 1666, *Pepys*, vii, p.204.

⁶⁸⁴ 28th Aug., 1666, *Pepys*, vii, p.263.

⁶⁸⁵ See, for instance, 31st Jul., 1666, *Pepys*, vii, p.229.

⁶⁸⁶ *Pepys*, vii, p.14, [Cocke], p.55, [Sandwich], p.61, [Warwick], & p.62, [Carteret].

coffee-house discourse, on this occasion Coventry felt such talk was 'fit to be suppressed'.⁶⁸⁷ Public anxiety, at least in coastal areas, was exacerbated by the frequent recourse of the Navy Board to the impressment.⁶⁸⁸ Even Pepys, despite his awareness of the Navy's needs, had concerns about this, commenting on its operation 'without press money, but forced against all law to be gone...It is a great tyranny' – a nod perhaps to a wider public discourse on the conduct of the war at the time.⁶⁸⁹ Similarly, the appearance on the capital's streets of unpaid seaman and their wives added to the authorities concern.⁶⁹⁰ In early July, after a trip to the Ticket Office on Broad Street in the City of London, Pepys estimated there to have been 'not less than 1000 people in the streets', before adding, 'But it is a pretty thing to observe, that both there and everywhere else a man shall see many women nowadays of mean sort in the streets, but no men; men being so afeared of the press'.⁶⁹¹

Given this backdrop of mounting public criticism, popular presence, bitter political infighting and financial sclerosis, the imminent meeting of Parliament, effectively prorogued since October of the previous year, preyed ominously on Pepys' and his fellow government officials' minds.⁶⁹² In January Lord Crew had told Pepys that he 'feared that the Parliament will fly out against [Sandwich] and particular men the next session', whilst Sandwich himself, presciently it turned out, doubted that a royal pardon would stop 'a Parliaments mouth'. In March, after a discussion with the naval supplier, Sir William Warren, Pepys noted that 'I think our office stand on very ticklish terms, the Parliament likely to sit shortly...and we being able to give a very bad account of the expense of what they did give before'. By July, Cocke and Pepys were discussing the 'uneasiness that a Parliament will find in raising any [money]'.⁶⁹³ By late August, just three weeks before the scheduled meeting of the Parliament, Pepys was told by Sandwich's lawyer, Henry Moore that 'both my Lord Arlington and Sir W. Coventry, as well as my Lord Sandwich and Sir G. Carteret, have reason to fear, and are afeared, of this parliament now coming on', adding 'Bristoll's faction is getting ground apace against my Lord Chancellor'.⁶⁹⁴ It was perhaps indicative of the political atmosphere that in mid-July, Pepys'

⁶⁸⁷ 24th Jun., 1666, Pepys, vii, p.179.

⁶⁸⁸ For Pepys comments on the impressment of seamen at this time see Pepys, vii, pp.176, 187 & 188 [Jun], pp.189-90, press/'a great tyranny'; p.190 'I dare not go amongst them'; p.191, 'great mutiny'; [Jul] pp.196 & 199-200.

⁶⁸⁹ 1st Jul., 1666, Pepys, vii, p.190.

⁶⁹⁰ Pepys, vii, pp.162, 176, 190 & 191.

⁶⁹¹ 6th Jul., 1666, Pepys, vii, p.196.

⁶⁹² Parliament had been successively prorogued without meeting on the 20th February and 23rd April 1666, *HoP*, i, p.85.

⁶⁹³ Pepys, vii, pp.17, 27, 77-8 & 221.

⁶⁹⁴ 26th Aug., 1666, Pepys, vii, pp.260-1.

chosen reading material was Davila's *Storia delle guerre civile di Francia*: the text earning his praises as 'a most excellent history as ever I read'.⁶⁹⁵

Against this troubled public backdrop, the diary traces another narrative, although this one situated at the unstable interface between 'the public' and 'the private' – Pepys' personal progress. Firstly, this can be measured in terms of Pepys' professional advancement: the growing recognition of his administrative merits by a widening circle of colleagues and acquaintances, both within and outside the government. At the beginning of the year, Pepys noted 'the King came to me himself and told me: "Mr Pepys," says he, "I do give you thanks for your good service all this year, and I do assure you I am very sensible of it."' Not surprisingly, Pepys later that same day records being in a 'great delirium'.⁶⁹⁶ In August, when Pepys arrived late at a meeting between the Navy Board and the Duke of York, he found that, 'everything stood still and nothing done for want of me'.⁶⁹⁷ On another but intimately connected level, the diary is a record of Pepys' ability to monetize his position on the Navy Board (and to a less noticed extent, as Treasurer of the Tangier Committee). Ironically this was enhanced by the outbreak of war, as the amount of money passing through the military-fiscal complex was massively expanded – if still insufficient to serve the needs of the Royal Navy. The war was the 'making' of Pepys in more sense than one.⁶⁹⁸ Pepys, the good bureaucrat, helpfully recorded this flow of 'payments' coming into his hands; his monthly settling of accounts often prompting rhapsodic commentary.⁶⁹⁹ Towards, the end of July, for instance, he records, 'reflecting upon the ease and plenty that I live in, of money, goods, servants, honour, everything, I could not but with hearty thanks to Almighty God ejaculate my thanks to Him while I was at dinner'.⁷⁰⁰ In the three years from the end of 1661 to the end of 1664, Pepys' wealth doubled from 500/ to about 1,000/; by the end of 1665, Pepys calculated his wealth at 4,400/, a year later it had increased to 6,200/. By the mid-summer of 1667, when, perhaps not coincidentally, he suddenly ceased recording his mercenary advance, his wealth was some 6,900/.⁷⁰¹ I said 'ironically' before because Pepys only parenthetically refers to the economic

⁶⁹⁵ 14th Jul., 1666, Pepys, vii, p.206.

⁶⁹⁶ 28th Jan., 1666, Pepys, vii, p.28.

⁶⁹⁷ 1st Aug., 1666, Pepys, vii, p.231.

⁶⁹⁸ 'The Man in the Making' is the title of the first volume of Bryant's three volume biography of Pepys; Bryant, *Pepys*.

⁶⁹⁹ For various 'gifts' and Pepys' accounts see, Pepys, vii, pp.14, 64, 65, 78, 9, 113, 119, 138, 168, 175, 192-3, 214, 215, 231.

⁷⁰⁰ 23rd Jul., 1666, Pepys, vii, p.215.

⁷⁰¹ 31st Dec., 1661, Pepys, ii, p.241, 31st May 1664, Pepys, v, p.163, 30th Apr., 1665, Pepys, vi, p.92, 31st Dec., 1665, Pepys, vi, p.341, & 31st May 1667, Pepys, viii, p.245.

hardship that provided the background to his own enrichment; and in considerable part to the government's unpopularity. Typically, in Pepys' case, this hardship is noted at a personal level. In the spring of 1666, Elizabeth Pepys, fresh back from Brampton, informed her husband of his father's want of money, 'for rents come in mighty slowly'.⁷⁰² John Pepys, the inheritor of a small estate was just one minor instance of a wider phenomenon: the agricultural crisis that was adversely affecting landlord rents. The following year, Pepys provided a rather grander example, noting that he had heard at the Exchange that the Duke of Buckingham 'hath 6000/ [in rents] so flung up'.⁷⁰³ The profits flowing to well-positioned public officers and courtiers like Pepys then stood in stark contrast to the economic well-being of the 'country'.

Such visibility was a double-edged sword, however, and over this period Pepys, so often the voyeur, began to feel the full intensity of public scrutiny. His emergence as a public figure in his own right is underlined by his actions during the Four Days' Battle.⁷⁰⁴ On the 4th June, when Pepys escorted an eyewitness, John Daniel, freshly arrived from the fleet to Whitehall, he noted, 'all the world gazing upon us...and everybody's face appeared expecting of news'.⁷⁰⁵ At the same time that Pepys' professional activities were coming under increasing scrutiny, and his own involvement drawing greater notice, he started to harbour longings for greater privacy. This can be seen in terms of his social activities. The public spaces of the City became increasingly politicized and, consequently, Pepys' presence there less comfortable. In August Pepys complained after a trip to the Royal Exchange of 'taking no pleasure nowadays to be there, because of answering questions that would be asked there which I cannot answer'.⁷⁰⁶ The following month, Pepys and Penn were 'horribly frightened' and had to conceal themselves when Henry Killigrew, a member of the Duke of York's household, and 'many more young sparks', surprised them at ease at the '*Polichinelly*' puppet show: now even Pepys' pleasures were becoming politicized. At this time, no doubt as a consequence, Pepys also began to entertain thoughts of the life of a private man; fantasies often figured in the generic pastoral form of a retreat to his 'country estate' at Brampton (see Figure 16). On the 5th August, Pepys records, 'my wife and I spent an hour in the garden, talking of our living in the country when I shall be turned out of office, as I fear the Parliament may find faults enough with the office to remove us all'; adding, 'And I am joyed to think in how good a condition I am to retire thither,

⁷⁰² 18th Apr., 1666, Pepys, vii, p.104.

⁷⁰³ 9th Apr., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.158; see similar complaint, vii, p.355, and, viii, p.84.

⁷⁰⁴ Pepys, vii, pp.142-156.

⁷⁰⁵ 4th Jun., 1666, Pepys, vii, p.146.

⁷⁰⁶ 14th Aug., 1666, Pepys, vii, p.245.

and have wherewith very well to subsist'.⁷⁰⁷ How seriously these musing should be taken is questionable. What is of interest here is the generic form they took, and their localization within Pepys' narrative to this period. Whatever the case may be, they were certainly backed by action; the sort of hard calculation for which Pepys is better known. Over these months Pepys was methodically withdrawing his own assets from public circulation and public hands.⁷⁰⁸ In June, Pepys' 'mind [was] full at this time of getting...as much money in my hands as I can, for a great turn is to be feared'; the following month, he was on Lombard Street, 'getting a good sum of money...for fear of trouble in the State, that I may not have all I have in the world out of my hands and so be left a beggar'.⁷⁰⁹ Yet even when so 'afeared', Pepys could not resist two of his characteristic vices: display and desire. On the 11th July he showed a bag containing a thousand pounds in gold to his neighbour, the attractive Mary Batelier, whilst at the same time complaining that his withdrawals were costing him 10% in lost interest.⁷¹⁰



Figure 16; The country estate: 'Pepys House', Brampton, Huntingdonshire

Practising Popularity

⁷⁰⁷ 5th Aug., 1666, Pepys, vii, p.235.

⁷⁰⁸ This wider notion of engagement with the 'public' – here as essentially a form public provision of state credit - follows that adopted by Mark Knights for a slightly later period, see Knights, *Representation*.

⁷⁰⁹ 28th Jun., 1666, Pepys, vii, p.185; 6th Jul., 1666, Pepys, vii, p.196.

⁷¹⁰ Lost profits, 11th Jul., 1666, Pepys, vii, p.202.

For all the fears of the previous months, the new parliamentary session began promisingly. On the 3rd October, Pepys himself appeared before the Committee of Accounts to defend the Navy Board. He was 'left', he noted, 'all morning with them alone to stand or fall', later considering he had 'come off with a victory'. Nonetheless, he judged his opponents, including Birch and Garraway – figures that would feature prominently in the parliamentary session – 'wise and reserved', and, 'instructed to hit all our blots'.⁷¹¹ Pepys' optimism, along with any within the government as a whole, would, however, soon be dispelled. This change in mood was reflected and reinforced by Buckingham's first recorded intervention of the session. On the 5th October, just two days after his own triumphant performance before the parliamentary committee, Pepys was informed by George Cocke of, 'a wild motion made in the House of Lords by the Duke of Buckingham, for all men that cheated the King to be declared traitors and felons – and that my Lord Sandwich was named'. 'This', Pepys noted, 'put me into a great pain'.⁷¹² Pepys' fears were well-grounded. The motion played to widespread concerns over corruption within the government, whilst striking at Buckingham's personal opponents. Most obviously this affected Pepys' patron, Sandwich, but also the Duke of York and Clarendon, Sandwich's patron. By contrast, this intervention appears to have been initially greeted with mirth.⁷¹³ It would soon become clear however that Buckingham was deadly serious; and that his intervention would presage an acutely uncomfortable session for the Court and its supporters. Indeed when the session came to a close Clarendon noted, 'It cannot be imagined...how great an interest he [i.e. Buckingham] had in both houses of parliament; how many in both would follow his advice, and concur in what he proposed'.⁷¹⁴ Buckingham had revealed not only unexpected persistence but his proclivity for playing at the politics of popularity.

The Fire of London and the parliamentary session that quickly followed it marked a critical acceleration in the political crisis that broke Clarendon's policy of political reconstruction.⁷¹⁵ Whilst the regime was able to briefly restore a semblance of calm after the prorogation in February the following year, it never properly recovered from the political damage it had sustained during the preceding months. Historians of the period have recognized that an

⁷¹¹ 3rd Oct., 1666, Pepys, vii, p.306.

⁷¹² For biographical information on Cocke, see *Pepys*, X, p.69; quotation, 5th October 1666, *Pepys*, VII, pp.308-9.

⁷¹³ *Pepys*, vii, p.309; for mirth see also, 6th October 1666, Clifford to Williamson, *CSPD*, 1666-67, pp.185-6.

⁷¹⁴ Hyde, *The Life*, iii, p.133.

⁷¹⁵ The critical work is Seaward, *Cavalier Parliament*; see also, Hutton, *Restoration*, and Pincus, *P&P*.

expanded public discourse was a critical element in this episode.⁷¹⁶ Pepys is both an observer of this entity, the public, and, through his practices, a constituent and constituting part of it. Similarly, Buckingham's role in the parliamentary opposition that emerged to frustrate the government's political programme is well-known.⁷¹⁷ My interest here is to examine these actions as an example of the practice of popularity. Indeed, as a tribute to Russell's founding influence on such studies, it is not amiss to say that Buckingham and his allies turned this political institution of Parliament into a public event. The perspective offered here is nonetheless determinedly Pepysian. If Pepys is a critical observer of these events, he was also, as a member of the Navy Board, an increasingly important, and as such an increasingly visible, participant in them. In this sense, he stood in a different relationship to the public and public discourse to that outlined above: one that was normative and discursive rather than descriptive and practical; less a vital part of this political subject and more the object of its hostile gaze. Pepys' ambiguous position in relationship to the public inserts a certain schizophrenic quality into this period, affecting both his discursive practices and his narrative self-fashioning.

In late November 1666, John Strachey writing to his friend, John Locke, on the state of the nation, noted, 'Fears, Jealousys, Longe knives, Masses, present and future pressures, forrein and Domestick enemies, litle money and less witt doe soe afflict and distract the Country, that I am sometimes afraid, that as the warme weather comes on wee shall breake forth into flame and fury'. To this gruesome list he added that, 'there is a general murmure and discontent...and what these things may come to, none but the Divines can tell'; the final comment to be read, I think, ironically.⁷¹⁸ As noted above, and as Strachey's letter graphically illustrates, the autumn and winter on 1666-7 were marked by an expanded political public - or public sphere - and a polarization of political positions. Particular issues and individuals became the target for the polemical energy that was now released. But this public venom was also increasingly framed in terms of more generic narratives and figures. As discussed in the previous chapter, this period saw a recrudescence of fears of anti-popery, and of the discursive figure of 'the papist'.⁷¹⁹ Increasingly these archetypal 'outsiders' were joined by courtiers and administrators (and to a lesser extent perhaps bankers), and inserted, often fused together,

⁷¹⁶ This is explicitly addressed in Pincus, *P&P*, see also, "Coffee".

⁷¹⁷ Again, see Hutton, *Restoration*, Seaward, *Cavalier Parliament*, and Pincus, *P&P*.

⁷¹⁸ 27th November 1666, John Strachey to Locke "at Litle Exeter house in the Strand", Locke, *Letters*, i, p.299.

⁷¹⁹ See Miller, *Popery*.

into narratives of vice, corruption and arbitrary government. In late October, for instance, Pepys learned from Cholmley that whilst walking in the Gallery at Whitehall, 'how Mr. Williamson stood in a little place to have come into the House of Commons, and they would not choose him; they said, "No courtier." And which is worse, Bab May went down in great state to Winchelsea with the Duke of York's letters, not doubting to be chosen; and there the people chose a private gentleman in spite of him, and cried out they would have no Court pimp to be their burgesse'; Pepys commenting, 'which are things that bode very ill'.⁷²⁰ This emerging public was a political subject in its own right but also a political resource that might be mobilized and even manipulated.

Pepys' practices in this period placed him within this discoursing public. It is also clear that he was largely sympathetic to these grievances, where he did not in fact share them. As early as the 26th September, after observing the Duke of York conversing with his mistress, Lady Denham, at Court, 'in the sight of all the world', Pepys commented, 'Here I met with good Mr Eveling, who cries out against it and calls it bichering, for the duke talks a little to her, and then she goes away and then he fallows her again, like a dog'. Having voiced this too-familiar but still damaging moral critique of the Court, Pepys continued, 'he fears more ruin hangs over our heads'.⁷²¹ Here both diarists were expressing commonplace critiques of the Court and its morals. Early the next month, travelling by boat with Dr Pierce, Pepys learned (again) that, 'the Duke of York is wholly given up to this bitch Denham' (James Pierce, or occasionally 'Pearse', was surgeon to the Duke of York), and that, 'the Duke of Albemarle and Prince Rupert do less agree. So that we are all in pieces, and nobody knows what will be done the next year'.⁷²² Almost two months after their conversation at Whitehall, Pepys met Evelyn again, this time in Westminster Hall. Pepys on this occasion noted, in similar terms to their previous encounter, 'there met my good friend Mr Eveling and walked with him a good while – lamenting our condition, for want of good counsel and the King's minding of his business and servants'.⁷²³ A week later, and just before Christmas, Pepys was informed by Creed of 'a most bitter Lampoone [possibly the *Third Advice*] now out against the Court and the management of State from head to foot'; it was apparently, 'mighty witty and severe'.⁷²⁴ There are two things to

⁷²⁰ 21st Oct., 1666, Pepys, vii, p.337.

⁷²¹ 26th Sep., 1666, Pepys, vii, pp.297-8. 'Bichering', as Latham drily notes, is 'a word Evelyn never uses in his dairy', Pepys, vii, p.297, n.8.

⁷²² 8th Oct., 1666, Pepys, vii, pp.314-5.

⁷²³ 14th Dec., 1666, Pepys, vii, p.406.

⁷²⁴ 26th Dec., 1666, Pepys, vii, p.421. The following month, Pepys obtained a manuscript copy of the *Third Advice*, from his colleague John Brisbane, after a meeting of the Cabinet at the Lord Chancellor's, noting that, 'I took it home with me and will copy it, having the former'. Pepys here provides both an example of manuscript circulation and his possession of similar items, 21st Jan., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.21; on John Brisbane, see Pepys, x, p.44.

note here. First the ideological contours of what I have termed here for convenience 'the public' or 'public opinion' were shifting. This process is made evident, and its direction made clear, by the greater presence at this time of such evaluative terms as 'country gentleman', 'country', 'court', 'courtier' and 'papist'. Secondly, throughout this period then, through his discursive practices and his self-representation, Pepys was identifying himself as a member of this emergent normative public.

As Clarendon later noted, when the Parliament reassembled in late September for the first time in over ten months, '[it] appeared much more chagrined than it had hitherto done', adding that, 'they did not conceal the very ill opinion they had of the court and the continual riotings there'.⁷²⁵ Parliament, as is well-known, was the critical institution for practising the politics of popularity; as a legitimate forum for the discussion of grievances, the main source of government financing, and as a platform for publicity. It is clear that Buckingham, along with other figures, seized the political opportunity afforded by these otherwise unpropitious circumstances. Over the course of the session he became one of the leaders – certainly the most visible – of a loosely-configured group of critics spanning both Houses and extending into the government (whether Buckingham himself, as a Lord Lieutenant, was part of the government I leave to others).⁷²⁶ Buckingham, Ashley, Sir Thomas Osbourne, Sir George Savile, Edward Seymour, Sir Richard Temple, Sir Thomas Littleton, Sir Robert Howard, Sir Thomas Meres and William Garraway, certainly constituted a formidable array of parliamentary talent.⁷²⁷

Pepys' activities over this period, as noted above, also placed him within Parliament, and provide a remarkable insight into the publication of popularity. Parliament itself, understood as the complex of buildings that together made up the Palace of Westminster, was much more public than was previously thought. (That is, if this question had been thought about at all). Chris Kyle and Jason Peacey have identified the large numbers of people who, for various reasons, legitimate and illegitimate, passed through these buildings. In his diary entry for the 13th October, for instance, John Milward noted that, 'It is said that the Duke of Buckingham came at the back door and heard the debates of the House./And it is said that many others

⁷²⁵ Hyde, *The Life*, iii, pp.127-8.

⁷²⁶ The account of parliamentary proceedings presented below relies heavily of Paul Seaward's account, Seaward, *Cavalier Parliament*, Chapters 10 & 11; see also A. Swatland, *The House of Lords in the Reign of Charles II*, (Cambridge, 1996).

⁷²⁷ Seaward, *Cavalier Parliament*, pp.300-1.

that are not members came in at the back door and heard the debates of the House, and carried them abroad'.⁷²⁸ Milward here not only provides a particular instance of Buckingham's activities (or rumoured activities) during this session, but indicates the larger issue of the interactions of political actors, stage and audience in Westminster Palace. Here Pepys' account is invaluable, for he is one of those anonymous individuals Milward identified here as 'those that are not members'; if not on this particular occasion, then certainly on others. Throughout this session, Pepys was in and out of the Palace of Westminster, on official and unofficial business. This included committee meetings, when his was clearly supposed to be present, and other occasions, when he was not. On the 28th January, towards the end of the session, for instance, Pepys noted, 'spent the morning at the Lords' House door, to hear the conference between the two Houses about my Lord Mordant, of which there was great expectations – many hundreds of people coming to hear it', indicating the numbers that might witness such events.⁷²⁹

Perhaps even more important than these sometimes licit sometimes not so ventures into the private parts of the Palace of Westminster, is Pepys' account of the 'political' culture of Westminster Hall.⁷³⁰ Throughout this period, Pepys was repeatedly inside this venue; at certain times on an almost daily basis.⁷³¹ On the 25th September, for example, after delivering an official document to Sir Phillip Warwick 'at the House door', Pepys set his wife, Elizabeth, in the Mitchell's 'shop' (ordering 'burned wine sent for her'), and then 'walked in the hall, and amongst others, with N[ed] Pickering, who continues still a lying bragging coxcomb'. Pickering informed Pepys, 'how basely Lionell Walden [M.P. for Huntingdon] hath carried himself towards my Lord [Sandwich], by speaking slightly of him'; Pepys noting, 'which I shall remember'.⁷³² The following day, Pepys was back in the Hall again, 'after a few turns...hearing that our accounts came into the House today'; whilst on the 5th October, Pepys and Sir Hugh Cholmly 'walked till night'.⁷³³ Towards the end of that month, Pepys 'walked long' in the Hall, adding, 'here I stayed late, walking to and again, hearing how the Parliament proceeds, which

⁷²⁸ 13th Oct., 1666, Robbins, *Milward*, p.22. See also, 'Colonel Sandys moved the House to take into consideration the miscarriage of the House in that their votes and debates were published abroad, yea and into Holland also, as appears by the Dutch Gazettes, and by our own also, and that reports have been unduly and untruly made to the King of some members, and that things most false have been laid to their charge', 22nd Oct., 1666, Robbins, *Milward*, p.29.

⁷²⁹ 28th Jan., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.34.

⁷³⁰ Kyle & Peacey, "Under cover", p.5.

⁷³¹ For instance, Pepys, vii, pp.291, 295, 296, 304, 308, 310, 313, 314, 319, 323, 337, 339, 342, 359, 360, 375, 378, 381, 389, 391, 393, 395, 406 & 413; Pepys, viii, pp.1, 3, 9, 22, 35, 39, 47 & 52.

⁷³² 25th Sep., 1666, Pepys, vii, p.295.

⁷³³ 26th Sep., 1666, Pepys, vii, p.296; 5th Oct., 1666, Pepys, vii, p.308.

is mighty slowly...and great factions growing every day'.⁷³⁴ His record of his trips to this central node of power, information, sociability and commerce underline how public Parliament was. Certainly, the degree of access Pepys enjoyed here, as an increasingly well-known figure and member of the government, would have exceeded that available to most of his contemporaries. Nevertheless, it is evident from the diaries that Westminster Hall was a remarkably public venue, where not just news, but opinion, circulated amongst a large audience.

Taken together, these show how Parliament could act as a public stage and transmit the supposedly private (and privileged) proceedings of the two Houses to a much wider audience. Indeed Buckingham's success in doing just this was demonstrated on his journey to the Tower for his part in the non-duel with Orrery; that is, when Parliament entered into public space of the capital. As was so often the case in the early modern period, the theatre of state was subverted by actor and audience (see Chapter 2 above). Sir Henry Slingsby, Master of the Mint, so presumably an eye-witness, noted, 'the people made acclamation, not as he was a prisoner, but to show respect for him for he was become very popular'.⁷³⁵ These parliamentary performances further publicized politics to an already engaged public, and established Buckingham's positions as one of the leaders of the government's critics. As Clarendon later ruefully admitted, Buckingham had won, 'an incredible opinion with the people'.⁷³⁶

If Pepys positioned himself within this politicized public - through his social practice and textual representation - he was also an increasingly prominent public figure. As in the preceding summer, the Navy and its finances were at the heart of politics. Here Pepys stood in another relationship to the public; not now as willing participant or interested observer, but as its object: the observed. Pepys' diary is peppered with complaints about 'want of money', and the dire consequences of its absence.⁷³⁷ On the 4th October, for instance, Carteret complained to the Pepys of the, 'want of money', claiming, dramatically but not implausibly, that the Navy or perhaps the state was, 'designed for destruction'. Four months later he was again (and quite

⁷³⁴ 24th Oct., 1666, Pepys, vii, p.339.

⁷³⁵ *Diary of Henry Slingsby*, (London, 1836), p.375; the Mint was in the Tower, Buckingham's destination. On Slingsby see, Pepys, x, p.398.

⁷³⁶ Hyde, *The Life*, iii, p.134.

⁷³⁷ Using the precise wording, 'want of money', Pepys, vii, pp.307, 313, 339, 351, 383 & 413; Pepys, viii, p.1.

legitimately) complaining that, 'our case likely...to be bad for money'.⁷³⁸ As the most important administrative officer on the Navy Board, Pepys was a critical figure in this political dispute over naval finances, and, as a result, increasingly well-known at Westminster as well as Whitehall. This ever greater visibility seems to have prompted a double movement on Pepys' part; between recognition and reward, on the one hand, and security and anonymity, on the other.

In the former posture, the diary clearly reveals Pepys' desire of social recognition, always closely tied to his pursuit of economic capital. Pepys thus assiduously records the compliments of his peers. His new standing was emphasised, and Pepys particularly gratified, for instance, when Clarendon declared that 'no man in England was of more method nor made himself better understood than myself'.⁷³⁹ In this period Pepys even considered becoming that archetypal early modern 'public man': a M.P. Following his successful appearance before the parliamentary committee at the beginning of October, Sir Stephen Fox informed Pepys, 'how necessary it is I were of the House' (i.e. an M.P.); Pepys adding, in remarkably circumlocutory manner, 'I did not own it, but do myself think it were not unnecessary...which makes me think that it were not a thing very unfit – but I will not move in it'.⁷⁴⁰ Similarly, he continued to record his collection of the perquisites of office in the bonanza conditions of wartime contracting; and to indulge in the competitive display of his accumulated wealth. Thus at the beginning of January, having invited his colleagues to dinner, Pepys, 'did make them all gaze to see themselves so nobly served in plate': the fruits of the public payments that were flowing through Pepys' hands.⁷⁴¹ Keeping up with the Pepys was clearly becoming a harder task. At the same time, during this period Pepys frequently expresses a desire for anonymity; a desire to escape from an increasingly hostile public gaze. This period was characterized by the greater scrutiny, within and outside Parliament, of the collective competence and personal probity of Pepys and his fellow officers; and government officials were increasingly identified in public discourse with the pursuit of private profit and the expense of the public good. Here we see the politics of identification in play; the construction of Pepys' identity by social forces and discursive practices that were outside of his control. Pepys' consequent cringe or recoil is evident in his dealings with colleagues, with his masters at Whitehall, with Parliament, and his interactions with a larger - and at this time often 'ruder' - public. This was in part the fear of Parliament expressed over the summer, and the likely actions that would be taken against the Navy's officers when inevitable ruin came. In December, for instance, he spent 'all the

⁷³⁸ 4th Oct., 1666, Pepys, vii, p.307; 3rd Feb., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.41.

⁷³⁹ 14th Feb., 1666, Pepys, vii, p.60.

⁷⁴⁰ 14th Oct., 1666, Pepys, vii, p.322.

⁷⁴¹ 4th Jan., Pepys, viii, p.4.

afternoon and night looking over and tearing and burning all the unnecessary letters which I have had upon my files for four or five years...that I may have nothing by me but what is worth keeping, and fit to be seen if I should miscarry'.⁷⁴²

Once again, these fears were figured in a politicization of public space. Pepys and his fellow officers of the Navy Board felt (and indeed were) under growing threat from unpaid seamen and their kin; and not only on the capital's streets, but in the Navy Board office - also Pepys' home. In mid-October, Pepys was informed by Sir Robert Vyner of a 'disorder and mutiny among the Seaman at the Treasurer's office'; Pepys noting, 'which did trouble me, considering how many more seamen will come to town every day and no money for them'.⁷⁴³ The same day, Pepys was informed by Batten, 'how rude the men were', 'at the pay today'; only dispersing on the promise of payment the following week, to which Pepys noted, 'God send us money for it'.⁷⁴⁴ The presence of increasingly frustrated seamen would prove a disturbing feature of Pepys' and the capital's life over the coming months. Pepys notes at various points that 'the seamen grow very rude', 'every day thousand appear' and 'seamen discouraged for want...who are not to be governed'.⁷⁴⁵ In late January on a trip back from the theatre, the presence of seaman 'in mutiny', 'put [Pepys] into a great fright'.⁷⁴⁶ Similarly, Pepys' pursuit of pleasure was hampered by his fear of critical public scrutiny. Despite the theatres having been closed (due to the plague) since the previous year, Pepys waited a further two weeks after they reopened before daring to visit, and even then noted that, 'I was in might pain lest I should be seen'; repeating this mantra on his return the following day.⁷⁴⁷ As in the earlier period, this prompted thoughts of professional retirement and geographic displacement in Pepys; once more expressed in the pastoral language of retreat: of privacy instead of publicity, *otium* rather than *negotium*. In October, after Pearse's abusive comments about Lady Denham, Pepys noted, 'returned in the dark by coach all alone, full of thoughts of the consequences of this ill complexion of affairs, and how to save myself and the little I have'; before adding, 'which if I can do, I have cause to bless God that I am so well, and shall be contented to retreat to Brampton and spend the rest of my days there'.⁷⁴⁸ A week later, Pepys was again longing for a retreat to the 'country', 'where I might live peaceably and study and

⁷⁴² 9th Dec., 1666, Pepys, vii, p.402.

⁷⁴³ 19th Oct., 1666, Pepys, p.330.

⁷⁴⁴ 19th Oct., 1666, Pepys, p.332.

⁷⁴⁵ Pepys, vii, pp.349, 355 & 426.

⁷⁴⁶ 23rd Jan., 1666, Pepys, vii, p.28; see also, 14th Feb., 1666, Pepys, vii, p.60.

⁷⁴⁷ 7th & 8th Dec., 1666, Pepys, vii, pp.399 & 401; the public theatres had been closed since May the previous year.

⁷⁴⁸ 8th Oct., 1666, Pepys, vii, p.315.

pray for the good of the King and my country'.⁷⁴⁹ Towards the end of the month, Pepys – in an unusual move – 'laid open our condition as to our estate' to his wife, Elizabeth, resolving to transfer part of his movable wealth to Brampton, 'in case of any disorders or troubles in the State'.⁷⁵⁰ In perhaps the most bizarre of his fantasies of disengagement from public life, on his trip with Lord Brouncker to the Queen's chapel at St James, Pepys 'wished myself one of the Capuchins'.⁷⁵¹ Pepys' discomfort, his desire to escape the 'burdens' of office for his 'country estate', provides a reciprocal register of the government's unpopularity during this parliamentary session.

Popularity as Discourse

Sometime in early February 1667, the Westmoreland 'country gentleman', Daniel Fleming, must have received the following information in his regular newsletter from Joseph Williamson's office:

'23rd, About fifty unruly seamen attempted to release one of their fellows from Aldgate, where he was detained for debt, but a company of Sir John Robinson's men from the Tower dispersed them immediately...24th, John Heydon, a pretended astrologer, was carried to the Tower, whither the two Secretaries of State with Sir William Coventry and Sir Thomas Clifford went to take his examination...29th, Some seamen coming down the Strand in great numbers were secured by the guard in Scotland Yard. The King came in person, and after satisfying them that all care was taken for their payment, declared that if ever they should assemble in such numbers to demand payment, they should be paid with the gallows'.⁷⁵²

Set between these stories of rioting seamen, the appearance of a 'pretended astrologer' (not even a real one), must have seemed innocuous, although the attendance of the two Secretaries and such political heavyweights as Coventry and Clifford would surely have caught the attention of the politically-literate.⁷⁵³ If that was the point of such selective official disclosure it seems to have worked: less than a week later, Thomas Holden wrote to Williamson's underling, James Hicke to learn, 'why Mr. Heyden is sent to the Tower'. Typically, this enquiry was followed by the familiar entreaty, 'Wants anything Heyden may

⁷⁴⁹ 19th Oct., 1666, Pepys, vii, p.332.

⁷⁵⁰ 24th Oct., 1666, Pepys, vii, p.340.

⁷⁵¹ 23rd Jan., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.27.

⁷⁵² 29th Jan., 1667, Newsletter, HMC, *Le Fleming*, p.44.

⁷⁵³ It may, of course, not have been so intended, but such a reading seems plausible given Arlington's close professional relationship with Williamson.

have put out in print, if it be no prejudice to send it'.⁷⁵⁴ Less than a fortnight after this first newsletter; Fleming, the other recipients of the newsletters, and those they shared their intelligence with, would have learned that, 'Dr. Heydon's papers will amount to little less than treason'.⁷⁵⁵ For Heydon it was to be the beginning of a Kafka-esque experience at the hands of the state's penal institutions. Notwithstanding the light these events cast on the politics of astrology and the, at times seemingly arbitrary, practices of early modern justice, their import here is as part of a developing narrative of national politics. For it would turn out that the arrest of Heydon would lead directly, or as directly as an examination of the Restoration *demi-monde* ever did, to an altogether bigger story.⁷⁵⁶ After Heydon's arrest the story rapidly developed. Buckingham was dismissed from his offices and a warrant issued for his arrest.⁷⁵⁷ Pepys duly noted this remarkable turn of events, commenting on 27th February that, 'my Lord Duke of Buckingham being sent for last night by a Serjeant-at-arms to the Tower for treasonable practices'; adding, in an interesting rider, 'I know not the reason of it or the occasion'.⁷⁵⁸

Having removed Buckingham from the political stage - albeit following a bungled arrest scene as richly comic as anything the Restoration stage might offer - the government now attempted to wrest control of the interpretative field.⁷⁵⁹ Over a week after Buckingham's dismissal from office, and with the Duke now 'on the run', both the charges against him, and the reasons for his dismissal were made wholly public. A proclamation for his apprehension accused the Duke of, 'holding secret correspondences, and raising mutinies amongst the forces, and seditions among the people': as economic a restatement of 'popularity' as one might wish for.⁷⁶⁰ Here the government was, belatedly providing its own, official version of Buckingham's actions; one that was less flattering, and altogether more sinister than his self-presentation in the recent parliamentary session. Not surprisingly, given his status, profile and leading role in these events, Buckingham's proscription soon became a matter of national interest, and the reasons for his dismissal a matter of politically-charged speculation.⁷⁶¹ These events reveal the centrality of 'popularity' as an interpretative framework, political narrative and rhetorical

⁷⁵⁴ 4th Feb., 1667, Falmouth, Thos. Holden to James Hickes, *CSPD*, 1666-7, p.490.

⁷⁵⁵ 12th Feb., 1667, Newsletter, HMC, *Le Fleming*, p.45.

⁷⁵⁶ Marshall, *Intelligence and Espionage*, pp.165-8.

⁷⁵⁷ 25th Feb., 1667, Warrant for Buckingham's arrest, *CSPD*, 1666-67, p.532; 26th Feb., 1667, Newsletter, HMC, *Le Fleming*, p.45.

⁷⁵⁸ 27th Feb., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.86.

⁷⁵⁹ For the failed attempt to capture Buckingham, and a publication of it, see, 5th Mar., 1667, Newsletter, HMC, *Le Fleming*, pp.45-6.

⁷⁶⁰ 8th Mar., 1667, Royal Proclamation, *CSPD*, 1666-67, p.553

⁷⁶¹ 7th Mar., 1667, Newsletter, H. Muddiman (Whitehall) to Jeoffrey Daniel (Marlborough), *CSPD*, 1666-67, p.552.

language; the means by which these were in turn publicized; and finally, how such 'texts of authority' – to use a favourite term of Kevin Sharpe – were appropriated by their intended audiences. Buckingham, having demonstrated the possibilities of practising popularity, would now learn its perils, whilst the government would, in turn, discover the limits of popularity as a mode of political discourse.

To pursue the theatrical metaphor adopted in regard to Buckingham's performance of popularity, the government's counter-attack involved a re-casting, re-scripting and re-staging of the recent parliament. In this new configuration, Buckingham was cast as a would-be usurper, driven by personal ambition, and operating within a Restoration underworld of political republicans and religious extremists. These allegations fitted into a series of pre-existing frames. First they corresponded with Charles' own comments to Parliament as the recent session drew to a close. Here Charles had informed his auditors that:

'I shall now prorogue you till towards winter, that you may in your several places intend the peace and security of your several countries, where there are unquiet spirits enough working. And I do pray you, and I do expect it from you, that you will use your utmost endeavours to remove all those false imaginations in the hearts of the people, which malice of ill men have industriously infused into them of I know not what jealousies and grievances'.⁷⁶²

Next they fitted into the 'public' (or 'official') 'transcript' of the Restoration; an endlessly reiterated connection between public discourse, religious dissent and political disobedience, and would have held a certain plausibility within a dominant narrative of Restoration memory. Finally, Restoration memory and its public transcripts in turn drew their persuasive power, on particular readings of the authoritative texts of recent, classical and biblical history. Better still, in this instance they also fitted with certain aspects of Buckingham's 'back-history': his connections with Presbyterians; his relationships with political radicals; and his apparent political ambitions. (Although how widely known these were outside the political elite at this time is less clear; see below). Whether this was a conscious strategy or simply a slippage into a by-now default mode is impossible to determine. Regardless, Buckingham was well-suited to the role of the ambitious demagogue. If he had attempted to adopt a certain guise in the recent Parliament, the government had now countered with its own representation of these events: a representation constructed in the idiom of the discourse of 'popularity'.

⁷⁶² 8th Feb., 1667, Charles's speech to both Houses before his prorogation, quoted in Bryant, *Letters*, p.200.

These events all demonstrate the paradox, now well-known, that opponents of publicity in principle were, nevertheless, publicists in practice. As noted above, the campaign against Buckingham was a reiteration of a familiar Restoration propaganda trope, emphasized by Charles in his prorogation speech. Beyond the expectation that their message would be relayed by their immediate audience, the M.P.s, to their constituents, this particular instance of this genre was also published for general circulation (or 'satisfaction'). Andrew Marvell, for instance, wrote to Hull Corporation in early 1667 stating, 'I write this letter to inclose the kings Speech, and our Speakers though perhaps you may have them from some other hand'; the qualification here a reminder of how information circulated.⁷⁶³ As indicated above, news of the charges against Buckingham was possibly trailed in Sir Joseph Williamson's newsletters. As a result of their access to privileged information, the recipients of these letters were important opinion-formers in the localities. Finally, the proclamation issued against Buckingham was the most public of modes of publication available, ensuring exposure across the country. Nor did the government restrict itself to such 'broadcast' modes of publication. Sir Thomas Osborne, one of Buckingham's principal lieutenants in the politics of the previous session, was subjected to an early version of James II's later 'closeting' campaign in the early summer.⁷⁶⁴ By its choice of the language, scripts, figures, etc. of 'popularity' and its publication strategies the government had now made its own intervention into public discourse as much as high politics. Its historicized rhetorical counter-representation of current events was now in play in the Restoration public sphere.

Given the publicity surrounding these events and the existence of an already distended and agitated public, it should not be surprising that these events were soon a matter of national interest and discussion. In March Thomas Rugge dutifully noted the event and transcribed the proclamation in his diurnal, whilst Williamson's newsletter informed its readership that, '18th, There is no further news of the Duke of Buckingham', and Sir John Nicholas told his father, that 'The Duke of Bucks still obscures himself, there was a search made for him in severall places on Munday in this Towne without finding him'.⁷⁶⁵ Shock soon turned into speculation as to the

⁷⁶³ 22nd Jan., 1667, Westminster, Andrew Marvell to Hull Corporation, Marvell, *P&L*, ii, p.52; the 'other hand' might here indicate the other M.P. for Hull, Colonel Anthony Glibey. Marvell and Glibey were by this time estranged.

⁷⁶⁴ Osbourne's memorandum of his meeting with Charles II, dated 8th Jun., 1667, BL Add MS 28042, f.1.

⁷⁶⁵ 11th Mar., 1667, BL Add MS 10,117, f.192v; 19th Mar., 1667, Newsletter, HMC, *Le Fleming*, p.46; 20th March 1666/67, Spring Garden, Sir John Nicholas to Sir Edward Nicholas, BL Egerton MS 2539, f.90; see

reasons for this turn of events. As early as the 5th March, Williamson was informed by a correspondent on the south coast that he was, 'sorry the Duke of Buckingham is so over-seen'.⁷⁶⁶ Whilst this is somewhat ambiguous, Williamson later learned from another correspondent, this time in the Midlands, that, 'it is reported that his chief offence is his activity against Papists and in behalf of nonconformity, which makes him popular with some, though sober men believe otherwise'; to which was added the alarming (or possibly reassuring) comment, 'Reports are brisk that Sir Rich. Temple, with four or five more of the House of Commons, is secured in the Tower'.⁷⁶⁷ Similarly, Richard Bower in Yarmouth informed Williamson that, 'Strange reports are spread to make people believe there is a design to bring in popery...that the Duke of Buckingham's prosecution arises from his disarming Papists in Yorkshire...such reports gain credit and cause strange jealousies'.⁷⁶⁸ In general the comments that survive seem to reveal sympathy for Buckingham's plight, incredulity at the charges, and hostility towards the government. This should be qualified by the source of much of this material. Reports to Williamson were more likely to report views that were of interest to the government, suggesting a potential over-representation of critical commentary. Nevertheless, if the aim of the government was to control the terms of public discourse and rebut Buckingham's self-presentation, rather than just effect his removal from the political stage and the publication of this new political 'fact on the ground', it appears to have run into serious reader resistance.

As the year progressed, however, interest in Buckingham became more sporadic. This was no doubt aided by (at least) two factors. Firstly, the absence of Parliament removed the critical national platform for the organization and expression of alternative interpretations of current events. Next, the decision to treat for peace rather than prepare for another season of naval campaigning, started to lessen the pressure of the state on society; albeit it remained at a heightened level. As a result, the extent and perhaps the magnitude of the public anxiety – if not its ideological configuration – appears to have diminished as the spring of 1667 gave way to summer. As these events slipped further into the past, naturally enough, interest in Buckingham seems to have diminished. In April, Marvell could still write to Lord Wharton that, 'The Duke of Buckingham hath many friends at Court that boldly own and defend his interest

also, 'The Duke of Buckingham has not surrendered on proclamation, and there is no certainty of his being in London', 14th Mar., 1667, Whitehall, H. Muddiman to Geo. Powell, of Pembroke, Newsletter, *CSPD*, 1666-67, pp.560-1.

⁷⁶⁶ 5th Mar., 1667, Dover, J. Carlisle to Williamson, *CSPD* 1666-7, p.549.

⁷⁶⁷ 11th Mar., 1667, R. H. (Coventry) to Williamson, *CSPD*, 1666-67, p.555.

⁷⁶⁸ 18th Mar., 1667, R. Bower (Yarmouth) to Williamson, *CSPD*, 1666-67, p.568.

in so much that the king believes better of him then [sic] formerly'.⁷⁶⁹ Nonetheless, Buckingham was slipping off of the front page of the news, and seemingly from public attention. This was captured by the sensational appearance of the Duke and, even more so, the Duchess of Newcastle in London. Rugge noted in his diurnal, 'the Duke of Newcastle arrived in towne in great state ten footmen cloathed in <velvett> & capes of the same', before adding, almost as an afterthought, 'a Great search made for the Duke of Buckingham'.⁷⁷⁰ Rugge's ordering of these news items is perhaps indicative that the political crisis was now abating. As things stood, Buckingham appeared consigned to wander the same political purgatory as his erstwhile ally, Bristol: a warning of the perils of practising popularity, even if he had not yet been contained within its discourse. As the summer began, and the prospect of peace became, at least to some, tangible, the government could even strike a note of cautious optimism. Towards the end of May, Arlington wrote to Pepys' patron Sandwich, now ambassador to Spain, 'And besides the Burthen of the War, from which he [i.e. Charles] would at any time have been glad to be delivered; we ought especially now, to desire to be at ease, for some time at least, whilst other Nations are falling out'.⁷⁷¹

Pepys' initial response to the government's proceedings against Buckingham seems, like many others', to have been one of shock. As noted above, Pepys first records these developments at the end of February; his comment, 'I know not the reason, or occasion', suggests this was, literally, new to him. If this is correct, his failure to comment earlier was due not to any reticence but to ignorance.⁷⁷² As this story broke, and flesh was added to the bones of the government's accusations, there is a cluster of references to Buckingham in the diary in March and into April. On the 3rd March, a Sunday, Pepys recorded two conversations on this latest political scandal; the first walking in Pall Mall, one of London's lesser and perhaps more exclusive information marts, the second in Clarendon's more private garden. In the first, Pepys learned of the botched attempt to arrest the Duke from the horse's mouth, John Barcroft, the Sergeant-at-Arms telling him that, 'he believes [Buckingham] is this day also come to towne before him; but no newes is yet heard of him'.⁷⁷³ (The second, lengthier, discussion that day - with Cholmley in Clarendon's garden - is discussed in more detail below). A few days later, Pepys was informed by Penn whist in transit to Whitehall, that, 'for certain the Duke of

⁷⁶⁹ 2nd Apr., 1667, Marvell to Lord Wharton, Marvell, *P&L*, ii, p.297.

⁷⁷⁰ 12th Apr., 1667, BL Add MS 10,117, f.195v.

⁷⁷¹ 17th May 1667, Arlington to Sandwich, *The Earl of Arlington's Letters* (London, 1701), ii, p.222.

⁷⁷² 27th Feb., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.86.

⁷⁷³ 3rd Mar., 1667, Pepys, viii, pp.92-4.

Buckingham is brought into the Tower, and that he hath had an hour's private conference with the King before he was sent thither': Penn, for all his certainty was mistaken'. Later that same day, Pepys visited the Crew household, noting, 'Here I find they are in doubt where the Duke of Buckingham is'.⁷⁷⁴ Here we see Pepys' privileged access to intelligence as a result of unusual proximity, personal and geographical, to power. Pepys appears to have seen the proclamation for Buckingham's arrest (or possibly heard it proclaimed) at the Exchange, after dining at the Sun Tavern on Leadenhall Street.⁷⁷⁵ After this flurry of comments, the bandit Duke rapidly recedes from the foreground of Pepys' account. On the 13th Pepys noted that, 'The Duke of Buckingham is concluded gone over sea, and, it is thought, to France'; and four days later simply that, 'Duke of Buckingham not heard of yet'.⁷⁷⁶ Subsequently, Buckingham is absent for the remainder of the spring, bar a discussion with Lord Belasyse about Yorkshire politics, and the comment noted much earlier, that Buckingham was forfeiting his rents; an example perhaps of tenants opportunistically withholding their payments.⁷⁷⁷

At least at first, Pepys' interpretation of these events seems to have corresponded with the general sense of public commentary. His, 'I know not the reason, or occasion', registers a level of dissonance between events and expectations, and serves as a reminder that the accusations of treason against a duke were a surprising, as well as serious, matter.⁷⁷⁸ A week later, this seismic shift in the political scene was still proving difficult to comprehend, Pepys noting 'which makes me mightily reflect on the uncertainty of all history, when, in a business of this moment, and of this day's growth, we cannot tell the truth'.⁷⁷⁹ The most detailed comment on the affair occurs in Pepys' record of his conversation with Sir Hugh Cholmley that occurred in Clarendon's garden at the beginning of March. Having discussed the possibility of peace, Pepys notes, 'He tells me that the Duke of Buckingham his crimes, as far as he knows, are his being of a caball with some discontented persons of the late House of Commons, and opposing the desires of the King in all his matters in that House; and endeavouring to become popular, and advising how the Commons' House should proceed, and how he would order the House of Lords'. The initial charge then, contrary to the suggestion of the official newsletters, was that Buckingham's 'crimes' – his caballing with 'discontented persons' and 'endeavouring to be popular' - were to do with his conduct in the recent parliamentary session. Only then, at least in Pepys' rendering of the conversation, did the new specific public charges emerge: 'And that

⁷⁷⁴ 6th Mar., 1667, Pepys, viii, pp.98-9.

⁷⁷⁵ 11th Mar., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.108.

⁷⁷⁶ 13th & 17th Mar., Pepys, viii, pp.111 & 118.

⁷⁷⁷ 7th & 9th Apr., Pepys, viii, pp.154-5 & 158.

⁷⁷⁸ 27th Feb., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.86.

⁷⁷⁹ 6th Mar., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.99.

he hath been endeavouring to have the King's nativity calculated; which was done, and the fellow now in the Tower about it [i.e. Heydon]; which itself hath heretofore, as he says, been held treason, and people died for it; but by the Statute of Treasons, in Queen Mary's times and since, it hath been left out'. The level of political analysis then reverts from the back alleys of the capital to the Court, Pepys recording, 'He tells me that this silly Lord hath provoked, by his ill- carriage, the Duke of York, my Lord Chancellor, and all the great persons; and therefore, most likely, will die'. Pepys finally notes, 'He tells me, too, many practices of treachery against this King; as betraying him in Scotland, and giving Oliver an account of the King's private councils; which the King knows very well, and hath yet pardoned him.'⁷⁸⁰ It is noteworthy here that, for all his 'insider knowledge' of Restoration politics, Pepys's record of his conversation with Cholmley seems to suggest that he was unaware of Buckingham's complicated past. If this was the case for Pepys, it then seems reasonable to ask how widely Buckingham's history – his associations with political radicals - was known outside of Royalist and republican circles. If this was the case, it would have weakened the connection that the government was attempting to forge to a strictly generic level rather than one enhanced by personal reputation. More generally, Pepys offers a reading of high-level politics as an essentially amoral game of manoeuvre, and Buckingham, 'this silly Lord', as simply the loser, on this occasion. If correct, in this respect, whilst Pepys was at one with a wider public interest in these developments, his interpretation of Buckingham's disgrace seems to have been at odds with the moralistic narratives of both the sort of opinions circulating amongst Williamson's correspondents, but also with the government's own relation.

Once again, Pepys' interpretation of these events can be mapped onto his own practices and representation. As the object of the practices of popularity, Pepys' comfort in public spaces and as an increasingly recognizable public figure, serves as a useful barometer of the intensity of the political crisis. Certainly, as the parliamentary session receded and the government's revenge against Buckingham played out, there are residual signs of those earlier fears. Pepys continued to experience anxiety in public and express the desire for resignation and retreat. In early March, for instance, Pepys lamented, 'But Lord, to see to what a poor content any acquaintance among these people or the people of the world as they nowadays go, is worth; for my part, I and my wife will keep to one another and let the world go hang – for there is nothing but falseness in it'.⁷⁸¹ (Although Pepys' more typical view of the 'country' was perhaps

⁷⁸⁰ 3rd Mar., 1667, Pepys, viii, pp.93-4.

⁷⁸¹ 5th Mar., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.97.

revealed when he noted of a Cambridge contemporary, 'I am sorry he should be lost and buried in a little country town').⁷⁸² If nothing else, the parlous state of the navy, even under the new tactical dispensation of keeping the fleet in harbour, remained all-too-obvious to the members of the Navy Board. In late February, Pepys (in an unusual insight into the public nature of the Board's office) noted a quarrel with Sir William Penn, 'in the open office before a hundred people'. At the beginning of March, he was complaining that the lack of money, 'doth make my life uncomfortable, I confess, on the King's behalf', before adding with disarming candour, 'though it is well enough to my own perticular'. Just a few days later he recorded, 'doing little for want of money – but only bear the countenance of an office'.⁷⁸³ Pepys still lived in fear of unpaid seamen, although this seems to have diminished from the levels of the autumn and winter.⁷⁸⁴

But alongside these expressions of continued anxiety, there was a growing confidence on Pepys' part in this period. This change is evident in his renewed appetite for social recognition and its economic perquisites. Indeed Pepys seems to have sensed this change in the political weather as early as January, when he began to redeploy his personal funds that he had withdrawn from public credit and public circulation over the previous summer and autumn. At the end of that month he noted, 'I am in a little in care, through at last putting a great deal of money out of my hands and into the King's', adding 'but the interest that I wholly lost while in my trunk is a temptation while things look safe'. However, even now Pepys felt the need to add the qualification, 'as they do in some measure for six months I think, and I would venture but little longer'. He would prove correct in his prediction but, crucially, out by a month.⁷⁸⁵ Greed was now overcoming fear: or to put it more kindly, Pepys, by these actions, was indicating a recovered confidence in the state's 'credit' (in both senses).⁷⁸⁶ Besides his personal investment in stability, and hence in the stability of the state, Pepys demonstrated a renewed appetite for the public presentation of self in everyday situations.⁷⁸⁷ At the end of March, for instance, he noted, 'to church, and with my mourning, very handsome, and new periwig make a great show'.⁷⁸⁸ Pepys also seems to have been able to enjoy the theatre again without fear.

⁷⁸² 18th Mar., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.118.

⁷⁸³ 21st Feb., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.76; 1st Mar., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.89; 5th Mar., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.97.

⁷⁸⁴ See, for instance, 15th Feb., 1667, Pepys, pp.62-3.

⁷⁸⁵ 31st Jan., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.38; this did not extend to properly assessing his wealth for the Poll Tax. In a remarkable entry, Pepys noted, 'it is a shame I should pay no more...I thought it not decent for me to do it; nor would it be thought wisdom to do it unnecessarily, but vainglory', 5th Apr., 1667, Pepys, pp.152-3.

⁷⁸⁶ C. Muldrew, *The economy of obligation: the culture of credit and social relations in early modern England* (Basingstoke, 1998).

⁷⁸⁷ E. Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (London, 1959).

⁷⁸⁸ 31st Mar., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.138.

In April for instance, he attended the infamous *Change of Crowns* (written by Edward Howard, brother of Buckingham's confederate, Sir Robert), noting that, 'Lacy did act the country gentleman come up to Court, who doth abuse the Court...selling places, doing everything for money...mightily pleased with the new play'. Intriguingly Pepys' famous self-examination does not appear to have extended to seeing any parallel to his own practices reflected in this 'country' critique.⁷⁸⁹

Towards the end of April, after much longing but even more hesitation, Pepys decided that his professional status necessitated the possession of that ultimate status symbol, a coach. Commenting on the iconic status of this material object, Susan Whyman has noted, 'Because it made a statement about power, status and wealth, it became a badge of membership in society'.⁷⁹⁰ Thus, in one of those convoluted locutions that normally indicate a degree of uncertainty, he noted, 'I have it much in my thoughts lately that it is not too much for me now, in degree or cost, to keep a coach; but contrarily that I am almost ashamed to be seen in a hackney'; and a few days later noted, 'my mind lately on a coach'.⁷⁹¹ Here then Pepys is once more linking his social standing with its visible display and public recognition. This primping of Pepys' public (but 'private') transportation extended beyond the land. A week or so before he began to daydream about his own coach, Pepys records, 'I did this night give the waterman who uses to carry me 10s for the painting of his new boat, on which shall be my arms'; Latham noting, 'Boats in public often bore the arms of important individuals'.⁷⁹² The fears of appearing in public, and the desire to escape the pressures of the public man, appeared to be dissipating and Pepys' appetite for reward and recognition recovering. There is a suggestion that Pepys' rediscovered appetite for the public enjoyment of his pleasures may have gone too far. After seeing a production of *Macbeth* in the middle of April, Pepys was informed by his wife, Elizabeth, that 'that my people do observe my minding my pleasure more then usual; which I confess I am ashamed of'. These domestic criticisms stand as a microcosm of the widespread critique of sexual indulgence directed at the Court.⁷⁹³ Nonetheless, as this period progressed, Pepys' desire for social recognition overcame his fear of public rage: for the time being at least, the tide of unpopularity that seemed about to overwhelm the state and the Navy Board with it, was on the wane. Pepys was puffing out his chest in public again.

⁷⁸⁹ 15th Apr., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.1.168; for the fallout from Lacy's performance see, 16th Apr., 1667, p.169 & 20th Apr., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.173.

⁷⁹⁰ S. Whyman, *Sociability and power in late Stuart England: the cultural worlds of the Verneys, 1660-1720* (Oxford, 1999), p.100.

⁷⁹¹ 21st & 26th Apr., 1667, Pepys, viii, pp.174 & 187.

⁷⁹² 24th Mar., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.128 & n.1.

⁷⁹³ 19th Apr., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.171.

Capital

The government's political calculations were of course upset in spectacular fashion by the Dutch raid on the Medway between the 10th and 13th June. This naval catastrophe (as much tactical as strategic) plunged the state and nation into renewed political crisis. As Pepys himself noted, 'Thus in all things; in wisdom – courage – force – knowledge of our own streams - and success, the Dutch have the best of us, and do end the war with victory on their side'.⁷⁹⁴ The stability which Arlington, and many others inside and out of the government, had craved - and which Pepys had (literally) invested in - was shown to have been fragile. The panic which initially greeted the Dutch assault soon gave way to a toxic admixture of anger and derision. This passage from shock to outrage is neatly captured by Evelyn, an eye-witness to these events. In his entry for the 11th June he first described the immediate response to this attack, 'this alarme was so great, as put both Country and Citty into a pan*>*ique feare & consternation, such as I hope I shall never see more; for everybody here flying, none <knew> why or whither'. Consternation soon turned to critique, if not outright contempt, Evelyn noting, 'a most audacious enterprise...doing us not onely disgrace, but incredible mischief...and all this thro the unaccountable negligence of our negligence in getting out our fleete in due time'.⁷⁹⁵ As Steve Pincus has noted, defeat discredited the government's personnel and policies, and, however briefly, powerfully shaped public opinion against it.⁷⁹⁶ These critiques were frequently expressed in a normatively-charged language of 'dishonour', 'shame' and 'disgrace': vocabulary that is clearly echoed by Pepys in this period (see Figure 16). The same allegations against the government – of popery, maladministration and incompetence - that had circulated during the previous parliamentary session, and were evident in Williamson's correspondence, were again aired in public. In early July, for instance, a Cornish correspondent informed Williamson that, 'enemies have been persuading the people that the government grows popish, and hopes to play their game by the new levies; they grow very insolent and open-faced'.⁷⁹⁷ Invariably, these were linked to calls for a meeting of Parliament and a purge of the government. Pepys himself recorded the very public expression of such sentiments, when, on the 14th June, he noted, 'It is said they did in open streets yesterday, at Westminster, cry, "A Parliament! a Parliament!"', adding as post-script, 'and I do believe it will cost blood to answer

⁷⁹⁴ 29th Jul., 1667, Pepys, viii, pp.359-60; there is here, as elsewhere, a clear 'Machiavellian' strain to Pepys expression. I hope to pursue this theme in a study of Pepys as an exemplar not of 'political thought', but, rather, of political thinking.

⁷⁹⁵ 11th Jun., 1667, De Beer, *Evelyn*, 3, p.484; see especially Pepys entry for 14th June, Pepys, viii, pp.266-72.

⁷⁹⁶ Pincus, *P&P*, Ch.25.

⁷⁹⁷ 3rd July 1667, Fowey, Sir Jonathan Trelawney to Williamson, *CSPD* 1667, p.261.

for these miscarriages'.⁷⁹⁸ A rear-guard action by those most exposed to prevent this proved abortive: the government, now virtually bankrupt, was in desperate need of capital – political as much as economic. Consequently, on the 26th June a proclamation was issued for the recall of Parliament: two days later the Duke of Buckingham finally re-appeared.

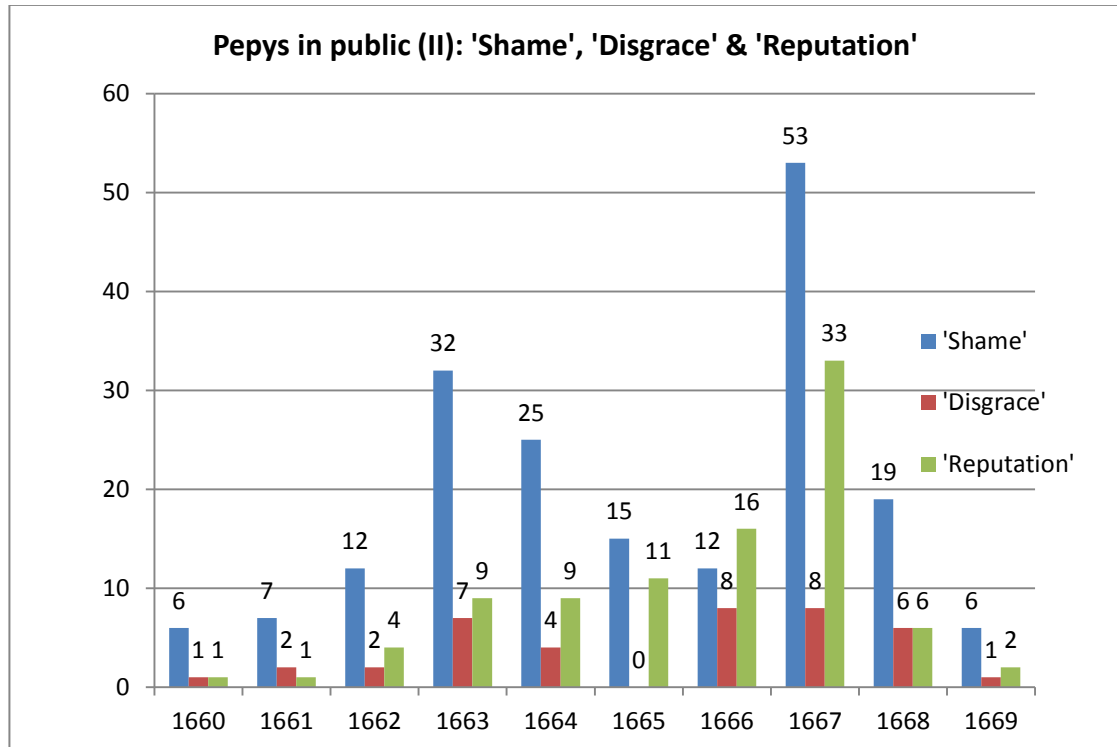


Figure 16 - Pepys in public (II): 'shame', 'disgrace' & 'reputation'

Like his earlier trip to the Tower, and indeed the whole of the previous parliamentary session, Buckingham turned this into a performance for different audiences; one outside the tavern on Threadneedle Street in the heart of the City, the other at Whitehall. Pepys was informed by Lady Carteret the same day that, 'the Duke of Buckingham do dine publickly this day at Wadlow's, at the Sun Tavern; and is mighty merry, and sent word to the Lieutenant of the Tower, that he would come to him as soon as he had dined'.⁷⁹⁹ Buckingham here was demonstrating his popularity with the London 'crowd'; and, in so doing, demonstrating the failure of the government's authorized narrative of his earlier actions to gain sufficient traction. Now the government's prior recourse to the discourse and publication of popularity positively enhanced Buckingham's reputation, his popularity, by dissociating him from the recent disastrous policy decisions (or perhaps their implementation). That this popularity extended beyond 'the street' was also apparent. When Buckingham finally appeared before the Privy Council some two weeks later, it was in the presence of Clarendon's 'bold speakers'

⁷⁹⁸ 14th Jun., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.268.

⁷⁹⁹ 28th Jun., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.299.

of the previous session. Pepys noted, 'it is said that when he was charged with making himself popular — as indeed he is, for many of the discontented Parliament, Sir Robert Howard and Sir Thomas Meres, and others, did attend at the Council-chamber when he was examined — he should answer, that whoever was committed to prison by my Lord Chancellor or my Lord Arlington, could not want being popular'. The implications of Buckingham's 'popularity' for the upcoming parliamentary session were all too evident.⁸⁰⁰ The value of that influence in Parliament (more imagined than real it would turn out) was highlighted when it met briefly in late July to a crescendo of 'country' criticisms of the government.⁸⁰¹ When Pepys visited Westminster Hall at the proroguing of Parliament on the 29th July — aside from witnessing the Quaker, Solomon Eccles' fiery passage — he recorded, 'The Lord of Buckingham there, brisk as ever, and sat in his robes' alongside that other fugitive peer, the Earl of Bristol.⁸⁰²

Buckingham's possession of that now-critical resource, political capital, ensured his return to the political arena and to a new eminence within it. By the autumn, as the process of appeasing the government's critics gathered pace, Buckingham enjoyed, if not quite the King's confidence, then at least his favour. Thus, in late November, Pepys learned (whilst dining at home) from Thomas Pierce, the Duke of York's surgeon, 'how the King is now fallen in and become a slave to the Duke of Buckingham, led by none but him, whom he...swears he knows do hate the very person of the King, and would, as well as will, certainly ruin him'.⁸⁰³ Just over a year after his first intervention in the Lords, his 'wild motion', Buckingham had succeeded in the 'politics of popularity'; converting practice into capital, and capital into power, even as he was subjected to the familiar discourse of 'popular spirits'. Hereafter, Buckingham was a prominent if disruptive figure in Restoration politics, and, in contrast to the period before the autumn of 1666, a permanent and dangerous feature of Pepys' narrative. Popularity is of course relational. Buckingham's popularity required its opposite — the unpopularity of other public figures. Inevitably, Buckingham's elevation set in motion a game of political musical chairs: close to Pepys, Carteret and Anglesey, exchanged places; Clarendon, it would turn out, would be left without a seat — first dismissed from office and then forced into exile.⁸⁰⁴

⁸⁰⁰ 17th Jul., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.342.

⁸⁰¹ See Seaward, *Cavalier Parliament*, pp315-17.

⁸⁰² 29th Jul., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.362.

⁸⁰³ 27th Nov., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.550.

⁸⁰⁴ The best account of Clarendon's dismissal is still Roberts, C. Roberts, "The Impeachment of the Earl of Clarendon", *The Cambridge Historical Journal*, Vol. 13, No. 1. (1957), pp.1-18.

In this period of heightened tension, Pepys again found himself positioned both within and outside of the now animated public: a division that was now harder to straddle. Indeed it is during this climactic phase of the crisis of 1666-67 that Pepys most clearly identified with public concerns directed at the government. In the first instance, and as indicated above, his discursive practices again place him amongst the discoursing public. Furthermore, in the frantic period during and after the De Ruyter's raid, Pepys was at one with the demand for the return of Parliament despite, as he acknowledged, the professional and personal risks this entailed. When he heard the news from Cholmley, fresh from the Council Table, on the 25th he described it as, 'the best newes I have heard a great while, and will, if anything, save the kingdom' before adding prophetically, 'though some of us must surely go to the pot, for all must be flung up to them, or nothing will be done'.⁸⁰⁵ Furthermore, despite (or perhaps as a result of) being one of the principals of naval administration, Pepys shared many of the public concerns about maladministration, even of corruption (although he was always careful to represent his own practices as exempt from such allegations). His low opinion of his masters was made apparent when intercepted letters were read at the Council Table. Pepys noted, 'the Duke of York did read the superscription of one to De Witt, thus "To the most wise, foreseeing and discreet, These, &c.;" which, I thought with myself, I could have been glad might have been duly directed to any one of them at the table, though the greatest men in this kingdom'.⁸⁰⁶ Nonetheless Pepys seems to have been less convinced of the more ideological critiques of his government colleagues: he saw cock-up where others spied conspiracy. In mid-July, he approvingly recorded Clarendon's damning verdict on allegations that the nation was undone by treachery: 'I could wish we could prove there was anything of that in it; for that would imply some wit and thoughtfulness; but we are ruined merely by folly and neglect'.⁸⁰⁷ Similarly his assessment of Buckingham was more politique (or perhaps just jaundiced), than what can be discerned of his public character at this time. After his conversation with Pelling (on the day of Buckingham's reappearance), Pepys duly noted, 'they must be very silly that do think he can do anything out of good intention'.⁸⁰⁸ Pepys' view of Buckingham, and by extension, Court politics, remained fixed where it did in the spring when he had spoken to Sir Hugh Cholmley in Clarendon's garden: neither sharing the public's approbation nor the authorized version of public authority.

For all his sympathy with public grievances, Pepys was himself, as a member of the Navy Board, identified as the object (or alternatively the cause) of those same public and publicly

⁸⁰⁵ 25th Jun., 1667, Pepys, viii, pp.292-3.

⁸⁰⁶ 22nd Jul., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.347.

⁸⁰⁷ 12th Jul., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.330.

⁸⁰⁸ 28th Jun., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.302.

expressed concerns. If Buckingham possessed political capital, Pepys and his colleagues were as bereft of this asset as they were of the working capital needed to carry out their functions. Certainly, as noted above, Pepys couched his welcome of the recalling of Parliament in June with concerns about the likely impact on his own continued employment; perhaps even his liberty. These concerns were the same, if now more intense, as those he and his colleagues had aired the previous summer before Buckingham's and, critically, De Ruyter's interventions in English politics. Alongside these fears of public punishment, Pepys and his colleagues lived in fear of more immediate reprisals against their homes and persons from a different public. Indeed, at the height of the panic following De Ruyter's actions, Pepys noted, 'I think, in any nation but ours, people that appear so...faulty as we would have our throats cut'; an odd example, perhaps, of English 'exceptionalism'.⁸⁰⁹ Not surprisingly then, Pepys felt himself to be the object of hostile public scrutiny at this time. After the blame had been fixed on Peter Pett he noted, 'when I got into the Court, it was pretty to see how people gazed upon me – that I thought myself obliged to salute people and to smile, lest they should think I was a prisoner too'.⁸¹⁰ Pepys then noted, 'it being the first minute I have been abroad since yesterday was sennit. It is pretty to see how strange it is to be abroad to see people, as it used to be after a month or two's absence, and I have brought myself to do it, that I have no great mind to be abroad'.⁸¹¹ As this suggests, this unwonted public attention that was now directed at Pepys affected his social practices, increasingly imprisoning him within the Seething Lane 'gated community' of Office and home. Even in September, as the initial sense of crisis began to recede, Pepys was still nervous of making public appearances, noting on one occasion, 'by water to the Bear-Garden, where now the yard was full of people, and those most of them seamen, striving by force to get in, that I was afeard to be seen among them'. Having been forced to enter by the back-entrance, Pepys, 'stood a good while all alone...with my cloak about my face'.⁸¹² Pepys was now spatially segregated from an instance of the Restoration public. A week later, Pepys was at Westminster Hall, but on this occasion, unlike so many of his earlier visits, 'only passed through...being weary of the world'.⁸¹³ Public space now required disguise, even dissimulation, rather than prompting the exuberant display of the journal's early years (see Chapter I).

⁸⁰⁹ 13th Jun., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.264; see also 12th Jun., viii, p.262.

⁸¹⁰ 19th Jun., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.279. See also Pepys' self-serving (if understandable) self-representation on this occasion: 'I all this while showing him no respect...for which God forgive me, for I mean no hurt to him, but only find that these Lords are upon their own purgation, and it is necessary I should be so in behalf of the office', p.279.

⁸¹¹ 19th Jun., 1667, Pepys, viii, pp.279-80.

⁸¹² 9th Sep., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.430.

⁸¹³ 25th Jun., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.291.

Pepys' retreat was also noted in his investment in the state. His prediction, when he had reinvested his wealth in January, that the state stood fair for six months (see above), having proven incorrect, he was able, like other insiders, to beat the run on the 'bankers'.⁸¹⁴ Having withdrawn his financial support from the government, he then spirited it away (along with his journals, 'which I value much') from the City to the safety of the 'country'.⁸¹⁵ Interestingly, and surely not coincidentally, Pepys ceased to record his capital accumulation at this time. Similarly, his exuberant and competitive displays of his newly-acquired wealth also end abruptly at this time (although in this case only temporarily).⁸¹⁶ It should come as no surprise then that Pepys again started to indulge in his pastoral fantasies of retreat to the privacy of Brampton. Indeed these would reappear intermittently when Pepys was under considerable stress: as, for instance, the night before he and his colleagues were to appear before the Commons the following year.⁸¹⁷ Nor was he alone in this. Sir William Coventry, who had wisely started to extricate himself from naval administration in May 1667, was now commencing his reinvention as an archetypal 'Country Gentleman'.⁸¹⁸ Similarly, at the end of the year the long-suffering Carteret informed Pepys of 'the hopes he hath of being at liberty...to retire into the country'.⁸¹⁹ Ironically then, if the summer of 1667 represented both the moment when Pepys felt at most in accord with what I have anachronistically termed public opinion, it was also the moment that in his own practices and in his social identification he was most at odds from the public.

The remaining period of the diary – something under two years – was taken up with the fallout of these events: Clarendon's impeachment, the pursuit of various government officers by Buckingham's supporters, and their pursuit of office. In the process the instability of 'popularity' as a form of political capital would become clear. Translated from opposition to power – or a major share of it – Buckingham's positive policies divided his earlier support, much as his negative policies had previously united it. Beyond this structural problem, Buckingham's actions contributed to his political problems. His duel with his lover's husband, the Earl of Shrewsbury – a spectacular six-man affair that was fatal to the Earl – proved that

⁸¹⁴ 13th Jun., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.263; Pepys had also secured his quarterly wages on the 11th, clear thinking on his part at the beginning of the assault on Chatham, 11th Jun., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.259.

⁸¹⁵ 12th Jun., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.262 & 'Journalls', 13th Jun., 1667, Pepys, viii, p.264.

⁸¹⁶ Noted in Henry Roseveare's thorough treatment of Pepys' finances, see Pepys, x, pp.130-7, especially, p.135.

⁸¹⁷ 4th Mar., 1668, Pepys, ix, p.102.

⁸¹⁸ For his representation as the archetypal 'country gentleman' see [W. Coventry] *Englands appeal from the private cabal at White-hall...* (London, 1673).

⁸¹⁹ 30th Dec., Pepys, viii, p.597.

there was such a thing as bad publicity. Furthermore, the intense application that Buckingham had demonstrated in opposition was not suitable to the repetitive demands of office. Reresby, admittedly a partial witness, noted, 'he was so unfit for this character by reason of giving himself up to his pleasures, that (turning night into day and the day into night) he neglected both his attendance upon the king, the receiving of ministers...and indeed all sorts of biz, soe that he lasted not long'.⁸²⁰ If the Navy, with its rich opportunities for enrichment (as Pepys' record so amply proves), was a principal target of not only Buckingham and his allies but also the 'country gentlemen' in the Commons, Pepys emerged not merely unscathed but with his reputation, his fame, enhanced.⁸²¹ Here he secured his position by a masterly pincer movement, combining secrecy with publicity. In the first instance, he showed his prowess in the arts of the bureaucratic ambush by offering up his criticisms of his colleagues in a secret memo to the Duke of York, thereby safeguarding his own position on the Board. It was a short step from here to his later eminence as Secretary of the Admiralty: an English Colbert. Next he blocked, or at least deflected, the Buckingham faction's charge against the Navy Board - and, not-too indirectly, the government - by successfully deploying overwhelming bureaucratic detail in a series of committees. This culminated, on the 5th March 1668, in his bravura, sack-and-brandy-fuelled, three-hour-plus defence before of Board and government in the House.⁸²² Pepys' parliamentary performance led to public recognition, not least from a grateful King the following day. This new found fame extended beyond the precincts of Whitehall however. Some three months after the event, on a rare visit to a coffeehouse, on this occasion in Covent Garden, Pepys noted that 'Sir Philip Howard...shamed me before the whole house there, in commendation of my speech'.⁸²³ Pepys was now a public figure of sorts too (although his public seems to have been a strictly metropolitan one): a far cry from the figure that visited the Rota with Muddiman eight years earlier.

⁸²⁰ August 1667, *Memoirs of Sir John Reresby*, A. Browning (ed.), (London, 1991; 1st edition 1936), p.71.

⁸²¹ For accounts of this period see Bryant, Pepys, Chapters 16 & 17, and C. Knighton, *Pepys and the Navy* (Stroud, 2003), Chapter 5.

⁸²² 5th Mar., 1668, Pepys, ix, p.103.

⁸²³ 22nd Jun., 1668, Pepys, ix, p.248.

Conclusion

In these concluding remarks I will summarize the arguments made in the preceding chapters and indicate how they impact on the historiographical fields identified in the introduction. The first two chapters refocused attention on Pepys' spatial representation of the Restoration public sphere, and complement the more familiar accounts of its temporal development; that is, a reorientation towards its synchronic rather than diachronic aspect.⁸²⁴ *Pace* post-revisionist historiography, Pepys' coffeehouse practices and representations of that milieu prove revealing. As finally, and grudgingly, admitted, Pepys did visit these establishments, but within his wider communicative practice they were not material; and in his representations of these practices more generally barely figured at all. Indeed the coffeehouse might be excised without radically altering the narrative space that Pepys constructs within his text. When he does record visits to the coffeehouse, it is represented as thoroughly *bourgeois*; almost a 'polite and commercial' space: free (or freed) of women and other subaltern groups, where the discussion of Restoration politics, 'matters of state', was carefully circumscribed. Moreover, when these practices are reinserted into their proper context – as part of Pepys' Exchange practice – what is discovered is a field of action as much devoted to display and distinction as it is to discourse; somewhere, to use Pepys' term, 'to see and be seen'. In the second chapter, moving outside this too-familiar location, the capital itself is revealed as a public, and at times intensely politicized, stage. Here Pepys and his contemporaries were bombarded with, and in turn created, political meaning. This seems less a public sphere, at least in the restrictive sense, and more, to use Robert Darnton's term, an early modern information society.⁸²⁵ Moreover, this tumultuous incident reveals how local, national and transnational publics were at once distinct but interlocking; breaking with the more typical pairing of nation-states and national publics. This more expansive understanding of public (and political) space intrudes new participants and new (or rather old) forms of publicity - both plebeian modes of collective political action and subjectivity, and monarchical forms of representative publicity - as it extends in scope geographically.⁸²⁶ The overall (intended) effect of these chapters is not to dispute the importance of public discourse but instead to reveal it as a part of a larger field of publicity that was at once more expansive, diverse, hierarchical and unstable.

⁸²⁴ For a discussion of the importance of historians being proficient in both the synchronic and diachronic explanatory modes, see, W. Sewall Jr., "Geertz, Cultural Systems, and History: From Synchrony to Transformation", *Representations*, No. 59, Special Issue: The Fate of "Culture": Geertz and Beyond (Summer, 1997), pp. 35-55.

⁸²⁵ Darnton, "Early Information Society".

⁸²⁶ It also serves as a reminder, if it were needed, that Pepys' London is coincident with the mode of publicity so closely identified with Louis XIV's France, see Burke, *Fabrication*; Blanning, *Culture of Power*.

The third and fourth chapters focused on the production of public identities and the politics of identification within this Pepysian public sphere. This public arena was not an atomized discursive space, but instead was structured by a set of historically-contingent narratives (with associated normative identities or roles) that were actively, and practically, manipulated by various interested parties. As Pincus has shown, and Pepys' coffeehouse- (or rather Exchange-) practices confirm, one of those discourses would later be designated as 'political economy'.⁸²⁷ Yet alongside this emergent discourse there remained, stubbornly, those powerful and prescriptive narratives of 'popery' and 'popularity' that Scott has identified as representing a critical continuity across the 17th century.⁸²⁸ It was these narratives that became dominant at those critical moments when the expression of diverse opinions in public coalesced into a unitary, if unstable, political subject: 'the public'.⁸²⁹ Success in these polemical but practical struggles determined who might speak with legitimacy in public – and what culturally-specific roles they might assume; and conversely who could not. Pepys' journal encompasses two such macro-political moments, two expansive *yet* exclusionary publics: the first, at its opening, defined against 'fanatics' and 'republicans'; the second, under the pressures of war, plague and Fire, constituted in opposition to 'papists' and 'courtiers'. In fact this transformation of 'the public' that Pepys bears witness to, and participates in, provides the high-political narrative of 1660s: a precipitous descent from a widespread euphoria to an apocalyptic disillusionment. These chapters underline the manner in which the positive identity of the public was (and always must be) defined in relation to some negative, alien 'other', emphasizing how the exclusionary and prescriptive character of the public sphere came into necessary conflict with its more familiar expansive and emancipatory function.

The opening and closing chapters – the final pairing - examined Pepys' position within and trajectory across this space in order to illuminate a subjective experience of the politics of publicity. If 'the public' is subjected to Pepys' relentless gaze and documentary impulse, the other subject of the diary is the author himself. As well as a record of public history, Pepys' journal is a personal narrative; the record, amongst other things, of a spectacular social and professional ascent - the relentless accumulation of capital in its many forms. Yet, as Muldrew

⁸²⁷ See especially, Pincus, "Popery, Trade and Universal Monarchy: The Ideological Context of the Outbreak of the Second Anglo-Dutch War", *The English Historical Review*, Vol.107, No.422, (Jan., 1992), pp.1-29, "Coffee", & *FMR*.

⁸²⁸ Scott, *England's Troubles*, see also, Miller, *Popery* and Lake & Questier, "Continuities".

⁸²⁹ On this transformation see Mah, "Phantasies of the Public Sphere" and Warner, "The Mass Public and the Mass Subject".

has noted, reputation is always relational and therefore public and social.⁸³⁰ Thus an important reading of Pepys' account is as a record of his successive acts of self-fashioning: the presentation of the Pepysian self in everyday Restoration life.⁸³¹ For all the apparent arbitrariness of the period of my study, from a public perspective, it neatly encapsulates the diarist's transition from spectator of, to participant in, the public arena. Pepys did not, however, occupy a Euclidean point, abstracted from political debate, but was instead an interested party. As naval administrator, he found himself at the fulcrum of early Restoration politics, as the conduct of the Second Anglo-Dutch War became a matter of public interest and political conflict. For Pepys, despite his best efforts in his professional practices and in his textual representation, the personal became political, and his private profiteering, a matter of public inquiry. Pepys was now the subject of the politics of publicity. His attempt to construct a public identity then must be understood against the backdrop of a political public that had coalesced and defined itself against corrupt 'courtiers' and incompetent government officials (groups that at this time were often, for practical and as well as polemical purposes, indistinguishable). The figure witnessed in the early diary, stepping forward onto the public stage of the Exchange floor and displaying the proceeds of his new-gotten wealth before colleagues, friends and family, became the often circumspect figure of the latter diary; more cautious in public and prone to daydreaming of a peculiarly Pepysian Restoration pastoral. The same history would repeat itself over Pepys' career as whole; although whether this should be figured as tragedy and then farce is another matter (and, thankfully, the subject for a different study).

Turning from Pepys to the Restoration studies, it is appropriate to show a modicum of historiographical modesty, and to note the interpretative limitations that the empirical approach adopted here imposes. Pepys' narrative, whilst particularly detailed is still particular; in regard to location and time, but also, as a personal perspective. Whilst in 1666 Pepys did conduct his own 'Grand Tour', this seems only to have encompassed the (distinctly metropolitan) drinking establishments of Hackney, Kingsland and Islington, rather than the typical aristocratic itinerary of Italy, France and the Low Countries.⁸³² The insights that can be drawn from this study therefore diminish the further its conclusions stray from Pepys' geographical-historical milieu of 1660s London. Given this narrow empirical underpinning,

⁸³⁰ Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation*.

⁸³¹ Goffman, *Presentation of Self*, Greenblatt, *RSF*, Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation*.

⁸³² The itinerary perhaps for a 21st century 'hipster' Grand Tour; for Pepys' version, see Pepys, vii, pp.121-2, 126, 129 & 167.

perhaps disappointingly (although not to me) but hardly surprisingly, this thesis does not overturn existing accounts of the period. Indeed having re-read the critical monographs for the 1660s, by Hutton, Seaward and Pincus, I have been reminded of their uniformly exemplary scholarship - academic models that I have aspired to but certainly not achieved.⁸³³ Ronald Hutton's *Restoration*, the least cited of these works, has, alongside Pepys' journal, provided the narrative context of this study. Paul Seaward's nuanced account of Buckingham's activities in 1666 and 1667 – a mere bagatelle within the schema of his overall, and persuasive, argument – forced the complete re-drafting of the final chapter here in order to avoid an exercise in pointless repetition.⁸³⁴ Finally, the differences between the account presented here and Steve Pincus's *Protestantism and Patriotism* – laid out in the chapters above, and the preceding and subsequent sections here - have been the most marked, so it is only proper to note the debt that this study incurs to this work. Pincus's insistence on the importance of ideology, the relationship between foreign and domestic policy, and, above all, his pioneering work on the Restoration public sphere were all critical (and therefore timely) interventions in the field, and have been followed, often silently, in this thesis. Without Pincus's work this study would not have been possible (although to admit this may be to provide further ammunition to Pincus's critics).

The purpose of this study is not then iconoclastic. Instead, as a focused case study of publicity, it is intended to supplement these existing studies, and draw attention back to this decade: a period due, if not a renaissance, at least renewed interest.⁸³⁵ Professor Keeble, in his survey of the 1660s, has noted that 'If no decade began more confidently, none so quickly slipped into disappointment, disillusionment and resentment': a transition that, it is argued here merits further inquiry.⁸³⁶ Recent commentary on this period has confirmed this judgment, tending to emphasize the perceived instability of this decade rather than its apparent permanence. Hence Tim Harris has noted, 'In answer to the question "What did the Restoration settle?" - most would now agree: "not very much"'; whilst Richard Greaves has rightly observed that, 'The early 1660s were...no less a time of crisis than the period 1667-73', suggesting a new, and

⁸³³ Hutton, *Restoration*, Seaward, *Cavalier Parliament*, Pincus, *P&P*; my other general guide to this decade has been Miller, *Charles II*.

⁸³⁴ I am also grateful to Dr Seaward for his helpful comments after a rather confused version of this chapter was presented at the "Parliaments, Politics and People" seminar at the Institute of Historical Research.

⁸³⁵ The most recent of the three monographs around which this work has circled, Steve Pincus's study is now seventeen years old.

⁸³⁶ N. Keeble, *The Restoration: England in the 1660s* (Oxford, 2002), p.2.

more crowded, taxonomy of Restoration crises.⁸³⁷ Historiographical insight has not however been translated into action. Any attempt to do so - as Pincus noted in 1996, Lake and Pincus have argued more recently, and this thesis has attempted - must take account the centrality of what I have termed the politics of publicity to this process of destabilization.⁸³⁸

Finally, I want to conclude by commenting on how this thesis fits into post-revisionist accounts of the early modern period. In the first instance, it should be apparent (if only from its alliterative title) that this study was consciously conceived within this mature, if not quite middle-aged, field of academic production; sharing its research interests, depending upon its methodologies, and intended as a contribution to it.⁸³⁹ It also shares the central post-revisionist conviction that revisionist scholarship – for all its merits – provided an inadequate, even unworkable, notion of early modern politics (or ‘the political’); was inattentive to its various contexts - social, cultural and economic; and failed to provide adequate explanatory narratives for the period. Furthermore, as previously noted, both this thesis and my thinking about the subject more generally have been profoundly influenced by the work of the various post-revisionist scholars cited here, and by Steve Pincus’s work in particular. Notwithstanding this base-level of agreement on means and ends, this study is also intended as a critical engagement with this body of research (a ‘post-post-revisionism’ perhaps). As such, Pepys’ engagement with the public and with the politics of publicity has prompted two reflections: the first of only local concern; the second of more general relevance to the post-revisionist project.

The first of these relates to the translation of post-revisionism out of its native early Stuart environment into the alien soil of the Restoration. Here the deployment of the public sphere has had an unfortunate side effect. If the Restoration is still conceived of as ‘transitional’ (although, to be honest, what period of history isn’t), the interest in the emergence of the public sphere has too often been to resolve the implied tension wholly in favour of the new. Whilst there may of course be moments of absolute historical rupture; where the past is wholly discarded in favour of a future-present, historical scholarship has been hard-pressed to

⁸³⁷ Harris, “What’s new”, p.195, R. Greaves, “Great Scott! The Restoration in Turmoil, or, Restoration Crises and the Emergence of Party”, *Albion*, 25:4 (Winter, 1994), p.610; see also De Krey, “Between Revolutions”, Scott, *England’s Troubles*, Chapters 7, 17 & 18.

⁸³⁸ Lake & Pincus, “Rethinking”, Pincus, *P&P*.

⁸³⁹ I have dated the birth of post-revisionism to the publication of the Cust and Hughes edited collection in 1989, Cust & Hughes, *Conflict*.

find them. Instead in the Restoration, as elsewhere, it is probably advisable to follow William Sewell's dictum that, 'one doesn't normally overcome an antinomy by simply embracing one of the antinomic poles'.⁸⁴⁰ Yet despite this injunction from history (or perhaps 'History'), the public sphere has been treated as at once novel to *and* representative of the period thereby eliding the temporal passage from an emergent to a dominant phenomenon. The obvious danger here is in mistaking an account of a historical process for a description of a historical state; the diachronic and the synchronic once again.⁸⁴¹ Whilst it is invidious to 'name names', this is most evident in Pincus's treatment of the Restoration coffeehouse, and, by extension, the public sphere, and Restoration political culture more generally. The first two chapters here were intended to question the legitimacy of this historiographical move; and to restore alternative modes of publicity, alternative discourses, alternative political subjects (or actors) and alternative sites of political engagement. A close, even myopic, focus on Pepys' practice reveals not merely the continuity or even the vitality of these other forms of publicity and alternative sites of publication but instead their centrality; reconfiguring the Restoration public sphere, if we wish to retain this nomenclature, as a properly historicized field of political action. To be clear, and to follow Sewell's lead, the intention is not to substitute Scott's position for Pincus's, nor even to collapse both into some soggy and unsatisfactory middle ground (the famous false average). Instead it is to claim that both poles of the Scott-Pincus antinomy operated in the Restoration period; as poles of attraction and mutual repulsion. To understand this period we need to combine Scott- and Pincus's *most* polemical insights, not temper them.

The second reflection is pertinent to post-revisionism as a project, and proceeds from its reliance upon the public sphere as heuristic wrecking-ball to level the revisionist edifice: now, at least in its purest form, more institutional than intellectual. Here Habermas's concept has been used effectively to counter revisionism's shrinkage of the political sphere. The emphases are therefore, and naturally enough, on the liberal tropes of inclusion, expansion and participation; strains in Habermas's position that have become evident in his transition from 1960s counter-cultural icon to the present-day idol of Anglo-American liberalism.⁸⁴² Once again, Steve Pincus's claims about the nature of the Restoration public sphere – welcoming to all, regardless of material circumstances, status or other contemporary markers of difference – is certainly, to use an appropriate term, an ideal-type, but nonetheless representative of the

⁸⁴⁰ W. Sewell, "Geertz, Cultural Systems, and History: From Synchrony to Transformation", *Representations*, No. 59, Special Issue: The Fate of "Culture": Geertz and Beyond (Summer, 1997), p.36.

⁸⁴¹ On this issue, see Sewell, "Geertz, Cultural Systems, and History".

⁸⁴² On Habermas' ideological trajectory, see, G. Therbron, "After Dialectics: Radical Social Theory in a Post-Communist World", *New Left Review*, 43 (Jan/Feb, 2007), p.104.

field as a whole. For all post-revisionist claims to have avoided falling into the dialectical death-trap – of producing a series of regressive antitheses rather than productive syntheses – there is a sense here that post-revisionism has become stuck in a fruitless struggle with revisionism: rather like Holmes falling to his death at the Reichenbach Falls - but in this case with an already lifeless Moriarty. Here revisionist accusations of a Whig history-*redux* have some merit and post-revisionists' insistence on the fallaciousness of such allegations an air of the return of the repressed.⁸⁴³ (Indeed, if one were inclined to apply a 'sociology of knowledge' critique to post-revisionism it would suggest that rather than moving beyond Reagan-Thatcherism, i.e. revisionism, it has too often engaged with it in a historiographical version of the Clinton-Blairite policy of 'triangulation'). The solution to this problem, if this diagnosis is correct, is not to discard the public sphere, and certainly not to abandon the more expansive notion of publicity pleaded for here, but to insist on its intensely political nature – as I have attempted in the third and fourth chapters. This conjoins the emphasis within post-revisionism on the expansion of the political sphere - its emancipatory and universalizing potential - in a productive tension with its exclusionary, even disciplinary, tendencies; a tension that should be sufficiently familiar to anyone conversant with the wider debate over Habermas's political-philosophical project.⁸⁴⁴ It insists, that is, on seeing the public sphere as not just a space freed of 'politics' (lower case) where 'Politics' (upper case) is discussed, but instead - as historians of gender, 'queer' and post-colonial studies in particular have shown – the place where what is deemed 'political' and what is not; what is 'public' and what merely 'private', is determined.⁸⁴⁵ What is needed is a fuller embrace of the more theoretical debates that Habermas' work has provoked across an array of disciplines; more theory then and more interdisciplinary research: the kind of openness to other disciplines and theoretical approaches that Kevin Sharpe was so keen to encourage in others and incorporated, in exemplary fashion, in his own working practice. In sum, what is called for is not less public sphere but more.

⁸⁴³ For post-revisionist concerns about resurrecting Whig history, see Lake & Pincus, "Rethinking", pp.272 & 286-9.

⁸⁴⁴ Habermas' substantial oeuvre has responses across a number of fields of scholarship. For the historian the obvious starting point is the various essays in Calhoun, particularly those by Craig Calhoun, Nancy Fraser and Michael Warner, *Habermas*; other useful edited collections are M. Hill & W. Montag (ed.), *Masses, Classes and the Public Sphere* (London, 2000), and N. Crossley & M. Roberts (ed.), *After Habermas: New Perspectives on the Public Sphere* (Oxford, 2004).

⁸⁴⁵ On gender, see especially N. Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy", *Social Text*, 25/26 (1990), pp.56-80, substantively reprinted in Calhoun, *Habermas*; for 'queer' studies, see M. Warner, "Public and Private", "Publics and Counterpublics" and "The Mass Public and the Mass Subject" all in M. Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics* (New York, 2002), and the last originally published in Calhoun, *Habermas*; for post-colonial studies I would cite, Gayatri Spivak's "Can the subaltern speak?", but its argument is entirely beyond my interpretative capabilities.

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